A

DISCOURSE

ON THE

LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY,

DELIVERED ON NOV. 4, 1789.

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ON THE

LOVE OF OUR COUNTRY,

DELIVERED ON NOV. 4, 1789,

AT THE

MEETING-HOUSE IN THE OLD JEWRY,

TO THE

SOCIETY

FOR

COMMEMORATING THE REVOLUTION

IN

GREAT BRITAIN.

pp 51, 44

WITH AN

APPENDIX,

CONTAINING THE

REPORT OF THE COMMITTEE OF THE SOCIETY;

AN

ACCOUNT OF THE POPULATION OF FRANCE;

AND THE

DECLARATION OF RIGHTS BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

SIXTH EDITION, with Additions,

Containing Letters and Communications from France, with the Anſwers to them.

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PREFACE

TO THE

FOURTH EDITION.

SINCE the former Editions of the following Diſcourſe, many animadverſions upon it have been publiſhed. Under the abuſe with which ſome of them are accompanied, I have been comforted by finding myſelf joined to the City of PARIS, and the National Aſſembly of FRANCE. I cannot think of employing my time in making any replies. Knowing that it has been the labour of my life to promote thoſe intereſts of liberty, peace, and virtue, which I reckon the beſt intereſts of mankind; and believing that I have

not laboured quite in vain, I feel a ſatisfaction that no oppoſition can take from me, and ſhall ſubmit myſelf in ſilence to the judgment of the Public, without taking any other notice of the abuſe I have met with, than by mentioning the following inſtance of it.

In p. 49, I have adopted the words of Scripture, *Now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace*, and expreſſed my gratitude to God for having ſpared my life to ſee a "diffuſion of knowledge "that has undermined ſuperſtition and "error, a vaſt kingdom ſpurning at "ſlavery, and an arbitrary Monarch "led in triumph and ſurrendering "himſelf to his ſubjects." Theſe words have occaſioned a compariſon of me (by Mr. BURKE, in his Reflections on the Revolution in France) to HUGH PETERS, attended with

with an intimation that, like him, *I may not die in peace*; and he has deſcribed me, p. 99, &c. as a barbarian delighted with blood, profaning Scripture, and exulting in the riot and ſlaughter at *Verſailles* on the 6th of October laſt year. I hope I ſhall be credited when, in anſwer to this horrid miſrepreſentation and menace, I aſſure the Public that the events to which I referred in theſe words were not thoſe of the 6th of October, but thoſe only of the 14th of July and the ſubſequent days; when, after the conqueſt of the BASTILE, the King of FRANCE ſought the protection of the National Aſſembly, and, by his own deſire, was conducted, amidſt acclamations never before heard in FRANCE, to PARIS, there to ſhew himſelf to his people as the reſtorer of their liberty.

I am indeed ſurpriſed that Mr. BURKE could want candour ſo much as to ſuppoſe that I had any other events in view. The letters quoted by him in p. 99 and 128, were dated in *July* 1789, and might have ſhewn him that he was injuring both me and the writer of thoſe letters. But what candour or what moderation can be expected in a perſon ſo frantic with zeal for hereditary claims and ariſtocratical diſtinctions as to be capable of decrying popular rights and the aid of philoſophy in forming goverments; of lamenting that the age of Chivalry is gone; and of believing that the inſults offered by a mob to the Queen of France have extinguiſhed for ever the glory of EUROPE?

The Poſtſcript in p. 4, and all in the *Appendix* after p. 34, have been added in this edition.

Note intended for p. 34, &c.

Mr. BURKE, in his Reflections on the Revolution in FRANCE, denies ſeveral of the principles which in theſe pages are ſaid to be the principles of the Revolution. He aſſerts that our Kings do not derive their right to the Crown from the choice of their People, and that they are not reſponſible to them. And yet, with wonderful inconſiſtency, he intimates, p. 123, that a wicked King may be puniſhed, provided it is done with dignity; and he is under the neceſſity of granting that King JAMES was juſtly deprived of his Crown for miſconduct. In p. 19, he mentions the *legal conditions of the compact of ſovereignty* by which our Kings are bound. The ſucceſſion of the Crown he calls a ſucceſſion by *law*; and the *law*, p. 28, he calls an *emanation from the common agreement and original*

original compact of the State, and the Conſtitution alſo he calls the *engagement and pact of Society*. In p. 26, he cites, as an authority againſt the right of the People to chuſe their own Governors, the very Act for ſettling the crown on *William and Mary* which was an exerciſe of that right, and the words of which are: "The Lords "and Commons do in the name of "all the people ſubmit themſelves, "their heirs and poſterities for ever," &c. &c. This Act having been paſſed on purpoſe to eſtabliſh a change in the ſucceſſion for miſconduct, it cannot be ſuppoſed that it was intended to deprive the nation for ever of the power of making again any ſuch change, whatever reaſons appearing to the nation ſufficient might occur. That is, it cannot be ſuppoſed that it was the intention of the Act to ſub-

ject

ject the nation for ever to any tyrants that might happen to ariſe in the new line of ſucceſſion. And yet this is the ſenſe in which Mr. BURKE ſeems to underſtand it; and he grounds upon it his aſſertion in p. 27, "that ſo far "was the nation from acquiring by "the Revolution a right to elect our "Kings, that, if we had poſſeſſed it "before, the *Engliſh* nation did then "moſt ſolemnly renounce and abdi-"cate it for themſelves and for all "their poſterity for ever." Mr. BURKE, before he publiſhed this aſſertion, ſhould have attended to a ſubſequent Act, which has been recommended to my notice by the truly patriotic EARL STANHOPE. I mean the Act of the 6th of Anne, chap. 7th, by which it is enacted that, "if any perſon "ſhall by writing or printing maintain "and affirm that the Kings or Queens

of

" of this realm, with and by the autho-
" rity of Parliament, ARE NOT ABLE to
" make laws and ſtatutes of ſufficient
" validity to limit the Crown, and the
" deſcent, inheritance and government
" thereof, every ſuch perſon ſhall be
" guilty of HIGH TREASON, &c."

DISCOURSE, &c.

PSALM cxxii. 2d, and following verses.

Our feet shall stand within thy gates, O Jerusalem, whither the tribes go up; the tribes of the Lord unto the testimony of Israel. To give thanks to the name of the Lord, for there sit the thrones of judgment; the throne of the house of David. Pray for the peace of JERUSALEM. *They shall prosper that love thee. Peace be within thy walls, and prosperity within thy palaces. For my brethren and companions sake I will now say peace be within thee. Because of the House of the Lord our God, I will seek thy good.*

IN these words the Psalmist expresses, in strong and beautiful language, his love of his country, and the reasons on which he founded it; and my present design is, to take occasion from them to explain the duty we owe to our country, and the nature, foundation, and proper

expreſſions of that love to it which we ought to cultivate.

I reckon this a ſubject particularly ſuitable to the ſervices of this day, and to the Anniverſary of our deliverance at the Revolution from the dangers of popery and arbitrary power; and ſhould I, on ſuch an occaſion, be led to touch more on political ſubjects than would at another time be proper in the pulpit, you will, I doubt not, excuſe me.

The love of our country has in all times been a ſubject of warm commendations; and it is certainly a noble paſſion; but, like all other paſſions, it requires regulation and direction. There are miſtakes and prejudices by which, in this inſtance, we are in particular danger of being miſled. I will briefly mention ſome of theſe to you, and obſerve,

Firſt, That by our country is meant, in this caſe, not the ſoil or the ſpot of earth on which we happen to have been born;

born; not the forefts and fields, but that community of which we are members; or that body of companions and friends and kindred who are aſſociated with us, under the ſame conſtitution of government, protected by the ſame laws, and bound together by the ſame civil polity.

Secondly, It is proper to obſerve, that even in this ſenſe of our country, that love of it which is our duty, does not imply any conviction of the ſuperior value of it to other countries, or any particular preference of its laws and conſtitution of government. Were this implied, the love of their country would be the duty of only a very ſmall part of mankind; for there are few countries that enjoy the advantage of laws and governments which deſerve to be preferred. To found, therefore, this duty on ſuch a preference, would be to found it on error and deluſion. It is, however, a common deluſion. There is the ſame partiality in countries to themſelves, that

there is in individuals. All our attachments ſhould be accompanied, as far as poſſible, with right opinions.——We are too apt to confine wiſdom and virtue within the circle of our own acquaintance and party. Our friends, our country, and in ſhort every thing related to us, we are diſpoſed to overvalue. A wiſe man will guard himſelf againſt this deluſion. He will ſtudy to think of all things as they are, and not ſuffer any partial affections to blind his underſtanding. In other families there may be as much worth as in our own. In other circles of friends there may be as much wiſdom; and in other countries as much of all that deſerves eſteem; but, notwithſtanding this, our obligation to love our own families, friends, and country, and to ſeek, in the firſt place, their good, will remain the ſame.

Thirdly, It is proper I ſhould deſire you particularly to diſtinguiſh between the love of our country and that ſpirit of rivalſhip and ambition which has been common

common among nations. What has the love of their country hitherto been among mankind? What has it been but a love of domination, a desire of conquest, and a thirst for grandeur and glory, by extending territory and enslaving surrounding countries? What has it been but a blind and narrow principle, producing in every country a contempt of other countries, and forming men into combinations and factions against their common rights and liberties? This is the principle that has been too often cried up as a virtue of the first rank: A principle of the same kind with that which governs clans of *Indians* or tribes of *Arabs*, and leads them out to plunder and massacre. As most of the evils which have taken place in private life, and among individuals, have been occasioned by the desire of private interest overcoming the public affections; so most of the evils which have taken place among bodies of men have been occasioned by the desire of their own interest overcoming

coming the principle of universal benevolence, and leading them to attack one another's territories, to encroach on one another's rights, and to endeavour to build their own advancement on the degradation of all within the reach of their power.—

What was the love of their country among the *Jews*, but a wretched partiality to themselves, and a proud contempt of all other nations? What was the love of their country among the old *Romans*? We have heard much of it; but I cannot hesitate in saying that, however great it appeared in some of its exertions, it was in general no better than a principle holding together a band of robbers in their attempts to enslave all mankind but their own. What is now the love of his country in a *Spaniard*, a *Turk*, or a *Ruffian*? Can it be considered as any thing better than a passion for slavery, or a blind attachment to a spot where he enjoys no rights, and is disposed of as if he was a beast?

Let us learn by such reflexions to correct

rect and purify this passion, and to make it a just and rational principle of action.

It is very remarkable that the founder of our religion has not once mentioned this duty, or given us any recommendation of it; and this has, by unbelievers, been made an objection to Christianity. What I have said will entirely remove this objection. Certain it is, that, by inculcating on them an attachment to their country, Christianity would, at the time it was propagated, have done unspeakably more harm than good. Among the *Jews*, it would have been an excitement to war and insurrections; for they were then in eager expectation of becoming soon (as the favourite people of Heaven) the lords and conquerors of the earth, under the triumphant reign of the *Messiah*. Among the *Romans*, likewise, this principle had, as I have just observed, exceeded its just bounds, and rendered them enemies to the peace and happiness of mankind. By inculcating it, therefore, Christianity would have confirmed both Jews and

Gentiles

Gentiles in one of the moſt pernicious faults. Our Lord and his Apoſtles have done better. They have recommended that UNIVERSAL BENEVOLENCE which is an unſpeakably nobler principle than any partial affections. They have laid ſuch ſtreſs on loving all men, even our enemies, and made an ardent and extenſive charity ſo eſſential a part of virtue, that the religion they have preached may, by way of diſtinction from all other religions, be called the Religion of Benevolence. Nothing can be more friendly to the general rights of mankind; and were it duly regarded and practiſed, every man would conſider every other man as his brother, and all the animoſity that now takes place among contending nations would be aboliſhed. If you want any proof of this, think of our Saviour's parable of the good Samaritan. The *Jews* and *Samaritans* were two rival nations that entertained a hatred of one another the moſt inveterate. The deſign of this parable was to ſhew to a *Jew*, that

that even a *Samaritan*, and consequently all men of all nations and religions, were included in the precept, THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.

But I am digreſſing from what I had chiefly in view; which was, after noticing that love of our country which is falſe and ſpurious, to explain the nature and effects of that which is juſt and reaſonable. With this view I muſt deſire you to recollect that we are ſo conſtituted that our affections are more drawn to ſome among mankind than to others, in proportion to their degrees of nearneſs to us, and our power of being uſeful to them. It is obvious that this is a circumſtance in the conſtitution of our natures which proves the wiſdom and goodneſs of our Maker; for had our affections been determined alike to all our fellow-creatures, human life would have been a ſcene of embarraſſment and diſtraction. Our regards, according to the order of nature, begin with ourſelves; and every man is charged primarily with

the care of himſelf. Next come our families, and benefactors, and friends; and after them our country. We can do little for the intereſt of mankind at large. To this intereſt, however, all other intereſts are ſubordinate. The nobleſt principle in our nature is the regard to general juſtice and that good-will which embraces all the world.——I have already obſerved this; but it cannot be too often repeated. Though our immediate attention muſt be employed in promoting our own intereſt and that of our neareſt connexions; yet we muſt remember, that a narrower intereſt ought always to give way to a more extenſive intereſt. In purſuing particularly the intereſt of our country, we ought to carry our views beyond it. We ſhould love it ardently, but not excluſively. We ought to ſeek its good, by all the means that our different circumſtances and abilities will allow; but at the ſame time we ought to conſider ourſelves as citizens of the world, and take care to maintain a juſt regard to the rights of other countries.

The enquiry by what means (ſubject to this limitation) we may beſt promote the intereſt of our country is very important; and all that remains of this diſcourſe ſhall be employed in anſwering it, and in exhorting you to manifeſt your love to your country, by the means I ſhall mention.

The chief bleſſings of human nature are the three following:——TRUTH——VIRTUE—and LIBERTY.——Theſe are, therefore, the bleſſings in the poſſeſſion of which the intereſt of our country lies, and to the attainment of which our love of it ought to direct our endeavours. By the diffuſion of KNOWLEDGE it muſt be diſtinguiſhed from a country of *barbarians*: by the practice of religious VIRTUE, it muſt be diſtinguiſhed from a country of *gamblers*, *Atheiſts*, and *libertines*: and by the poſſeſſion of LIBERTY, it muſt be diſtinguiſhed from a country of *ſlaves*.——I will dwell for a few moments on each of theſe heads:

Our firſt concern, as lovers of our

country, must be to *enlighten* it.—Why are the nations of the world so patient under deſpotiſm?—Why do they crouch to tyrants, or ſubmit to be treated as if they were a herd of cattle? Is it not becauſe they are kept in darkneſs, and want knowledge? Enlighten them and you will elevate them. Shew them they are *men*, and they will act like *men*. Give them juſt ideas of civil government, and let them know that it is an expedient for gaining protection againſt injury and defending their rights *, and it will be impoſſible for them to ſubmit to governments which, like moſt of thoſe now in the world, are uſurpations on the rights of men, and little better than contrivances for enabling the *few* to oppreſs the *many*. Convince them that the Deity is a righteous and benevolent as well as omnipotent being, who regards with equal eye all his creatures, and connects his favour with nothing but an honeſt deſire to know and do his will; and that

* See the Declaration of Rights by the National Aſſembly of *France*, in the Appendix.

zeal

zeal for myſtical doctrines which has led men to hate and haraſs one another will be exterminated. Set religion before them as a rational ſervice, conſiſting not in any rites and ceremonies, but in worſhipping God with a pure heart and practiſing righteouſneſs from the fear of his diſpleaſure and the apprehenſion of a future righteous judgment, and that gloomy and cruel ſuperſtition will be aboliſhed which has hitherto gone under the name of religion, and to the ſupport of which civil government has been perverted.——Ignorance is the parent of bigotry, intolerance, perſecution and ſlavery. Inform and inſtruct mankind; and theſe evils will be excluded.——Happy is the perſon who, himſelf raiſed above vulgar errors, is conſcious of having aimed at giving mankind this inſtruction. Happy is the Scholar or Philoſopher who at the cloſe of life can reflect that he has made this uſe of his learning and abilities: but happier far muſt he be, if at the ſame time he has reaſon to believe he has been ſucceſsful, and actually contributed, by his inſtructions, to diſſeminate

minate among his fellow-creatures juſt notions of themſelves, of their rights, of religion, and the nature and end of civil government. Such were *Milton*, *Locke*, *Sidney*, *Hoadly*, &c. in this country; ſuch were *Monteſquieu*, *Fenelon*, *Turgot*, &c. in France. They ſowed a ſeed which has ſince taken root, and is now growing up to a glorious harveſt. To the information they conveyed by their writings we owe thoſe revolutions in which every friend to mankind is now exulting.——What an encouragement is this to us all in our endeavours to enlighten the world! Every degree of illumination which we can communicate muſt do the greateſt good. It helps to prepare the minds of men for the recovery of their rights, and haſtens the overthrow of prieſtcraft and tyranny.——In ſhort, we may, in this inſtance, learn our duty from the conduct of the oppreſſors of the world. They know that light is hoſtile to them, and therefore they labour to keep men in the dark. With this intention they have appointed licenſers of the preſs; and, in Popiſh

countries,

countries, prohibited the reading of the Bible. Remove the darkness in which they envelope the world, and their usurpations will be exposed, their power will be subverted, and the world emancipated.

The next great blessing of human nature which I have mentioned is VIRTUE. This ought to follow knowledge, and to be directed by it. Virtue without knowledge makes enthusiasts; and knowledge without virtue makes devils: but both united elevates to the top of human dignity and perfection. ——We must, therefore, if we would serve our country, make both these the objects of our zeal. We must discourage vice in all its forms; and our endeavours to enlighten must have ultimately in view a reformation of manners and virtuous practice.

I must add here, that in the practice of virtue I include the discharge of the public duties of religion. By neglecting these we may injure our country essentially. But it is melancholly to observe that it is a common neglect among us; and in a

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great measure owing to a cause which is not likely to be soon removed: I mean the defects (may I not say the absurdities?) in our established codes of faith and worship. In foreign countries, the higher ranks of men, not distinguishing between the religion they see established and the Christian religion, are generally driven to irreligion and infidelity. The like evil is produced by the like cause in this country; and if no reformation of our established formularies can be brought about, it must be expected that religion will go on to lose its credit, and that little of it will be left except among the lower orders of people, many of whom while their superiors give up all religion, are sinking into an enthusiasm in religion lately revived; and mistaking, as the world has generally done, the service acceptable to God for a system of faith souring the temper, and a service of forms supplanting morality.

I hope you will not mistake what I am now saying, or consider it as the effect of my prejudices as a Dissenter from the

eſtabliſhed church. The complaint I am making, is the complaint of many of the wiſeſt and beſt men in the eſtabliſhed church itſelf, who have been long urging the neceſſity of a reviſal of its Liturgy and Articles *. Theſe were framed above two centuries ago, when Chriſtendom was juſt emerging from the ignorance and barbarity of the dark ages. They remain now much the ſame they were then; and, therefore, cannot be properly adapted to the good ſenſe and liberality of the preſent times.—This imperfection, however, in our public forms of worſhip, affords no excuſe to any perſon for neglecting public worſhip. All communities will have ſome religion; and it is of infinite conſequence that they ſhould be led to that which, by enforcing the obligations of virtue and putting men

* See a pamphlet aſcribed to a great name, and which would dignify any name, entitled, *Hints*, &c. *ſubmitted to the ſerious attention of the Clergy, Nobility and Gentry, newly aſſembled. By a Layman, a friend to the true Principles of the Conſtitution in Church and State, and to Civil and Religious Liberty.* The fourth Edition, corrected; and printed for *White* and *Debrett*, 1789.

upon loving inſtead of damning one another, is moſt favourable to the intereſt of ſociety.

If there is a Governor of the world, who directs all events, he ought to be invoked and worſhipped; and thoſe who diſlike that mode of worſhip which is preſcribed by public authority, ought (if they can find no worſhip *out* of the church which they approve) to ſet up a ſeparate worſhip for themſelves; and by doing this, and giving an example of a rational and manly worſhip, men of weight, from their rank or literature, may do the greateſt ſervice to ſociety and the world. They may bear a teſtimony againſt that application of civil power to the ſupport of particular modes of faith, which obſtructs human improvement, and perpetuates error; and they may hold out an inſtruction which will diſcountenance ſuperſtition, and at the ſame time recommend religion, by making it appear to be (what it certainly is when rightly underſtood) the ſtrongeſt incentive to all that is generous and worthy, and

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conſequently the beſt friend to public order and happineſs.

LIBERTY is the next great bleſſing which I have mentioned as the object of patriotic zeal. It is inſeparable from knowledge and virtue, and together with them completes the glory of a community. An enlightened and virtuous country muſt be a free country. It cannot ſuffer invaſions of its rights, or bend to tyrants.——I need not, on this occaſion, take any pains to ſhew you how great a bleſſing liberty is. The ſmalleſt attention to the hiſtory of paſt ages, and the preſent ſtate of mankind, will make you ſenſible of its importance. Look round the world and you will find almoſt every country, reſpectable or contemptible, happy or miſerable, a fruitful field, or a frightful waſte, according as it poſſeſſes or wants this bleſſing. Think of *Greece*, formerly the ſeat of arts and ſcience, and the moſt diſtinguiſhed ſpot under heaven; but now, having loſt liberty, a vile and wretched ſpot, a region of darkneſs, po-

verty and barbarity.——Such reflexions muſt convince you that, if you love your country, you cannot be zealous enough in promoting the cauſe of liberty in it. But it will come in my way to ſay more to this purpoſe preſently.

The obſervations I have made include our whole duty to our country; for by endeavouring to liberalize and enlighten it, to diſcourage vice and to promote virtue in it, and to aſſert and ſupport its liberties, we ſhall endeavour to do all that is neceſſary to make it great and happy.——But it is proper that, on this occaſion, I ſhould be more explicit, and exemplify our duty to our country by obſerving farther, that it requires us to obey its laws, and to reſpect its magiſtrates.

Civil Government (as I have before obſerved) is an inſtitution of human prudence for guarding our perſons, our property, and our good name, againſt invaſion; and for ſecuring to the members of a community that liberty to which all have

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an equal right as far as they do not, by any overt act, uſe it to injure the liberty of others. Civil laws are regulations agreed upon by the community for gaining theſe ends *; and civil magiſtrates are officers appointed by the community for executing theſe laws. Obedience, therefore, to the laws and to magiſtrates, is a neceſſary expreſſion of our regard to the community. Without it a community muſt fall into a ſtate of anarchy that will deſtroy thoſe rights and ſubvert that liberty, which it is the end of government to protect.

I wiſh it was in my power to give you a juſt account of the importance of this obſervation. It ſhews the ground on which the duty of obeying civil governors ſtands, and that there are two extremes in this caſe which ought to be avoided.——Theſe extremes are adulation and ſervility on one hand; and a proud and licentious contempt on the

* See Articles III. and VI. of the Declaration of Rights, by the National Aſſembly of France, in the Appendix.

other.

other. The former is the extreme to which mankind in general have been moſt prone; for it has oftener happened that men have been too paſſive than too unruly; and the rebellion of Kings againſt their people has been more common, and done more miſchief, than the rebellion of people againſt their Kings.

Adulation is always odious, and when offered to men in power it corrupts *them*, by giving them improper ideas of their ſituation; and it debaſes thoſe who offer it, by manifeſting an abjectneſs founded on improper ideas of *themſelves*. I have lately obſerved in this kingdom too near approaches to this abjectneſs. In our late addreſſes to the King, on his recovery from the ſevere illneſs with which God has been pleaſed to afflict him, we have appeared more like a herd crawling at the feet of a maſter, than like enlightened and manly citizens rejoicing with a beloved ſovereign, but at the ſame time conſcious that he derives all his conſequence from themſelves.

But,

But, perhaps, theſe ſervilities in the language of our late addreſſes ſhould be pardoned, as only *forms* of civility and expreſſions of an overflow of good-nature. They have, however, a dangerous tendency. The potentates of this world are ſufficiently apt to conſider themſelves as poſſeſſed of an inherent ſuperiority, which gives them a right to govern, and makes mankind *their own*; and this infatuation is almoſt every where foſtered in them by the creeping ſycophants about them, and the language of flattery which they are continually hearing.

Civil governors are properly the ſervants of the public; and a King is no more than the firſt ſervant of the public, created by it, maintained by it, and reſponſible to it: and all the homage paid him, is due to him on no other account than his relation to the public. His ſacredneſs is the ſacredneſs of the community. His authority is the authority of the community; and the term MAJESTY, which it is uſual to apply to him,

him, is by no means *his own* majeſty, but the MAJESTY OF THE PEOPLE. For this reaſon, whatever he may be in his private capacity; and though, in reſpect of perſonal qualities, not equal to, or even far below many among ourſelves—For this reaſon, I ſay (that is, as repreſenting the community and its firſt magiſtrate), he is entitled to our reverence and obedience. The words MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTY are rightly applied to him; and there is a reſpect which it would be criminal to withhold from him.

You cannot be too attentive to this obſervation. The improvement of the world depends on the attention to it: nor will mankind be ever as virtuous and happy as they are capable of being, till the attention to it becomes univerſal and efficacious. If we forget it, we ſhall be in danger of an idolatry as groſs and ſtupid as that of the ancient heathens, who after fabricating blocks of wood or ſtone, fell down and worſhipped them.——The diſpoſition in mankind to this kind of idolatry is indeed a very mortifying

ſubject

ſubject of reflexion.——In TURKEY, millions of human beings adore a ſilly mortal, and are ready to throw themſelves at his feet, and to ſubmit their lives to his diſcretion.——In RUSSIA, the common people are only a STOCK on the lands of grandees, or appendages to their eſtates, which, like the fixtures in a houſe, are bought and ſold with the eſtates. In SPAIN, in GERMANY, and under moſt of the governments of the world, mankind are in a ſimilar ſtate of humiliation. Who, that has a juſt ſenſe of the dignity of his nature, can avoid execrating ſuch a debaſement of it?

Had I been to addreſs the King on a late occaſion, I ſhould have been inclined to do it in a ſtyle very different from that of moſt of the addreſſers, and to uſe ſome ſuch language as the following:——

"I rejoice, Sir, in your recovery. I "thank God for his goodneſs to you. I "honour you not only as my King, but "as almoſt the only lawful King in the "world, becauſe the only one who owes "his crown to the choice of his people.

" May you enjoy all poſſible happineſs.
" May God ſhew you the folly of thoſe
" effuſions of adulation which you are
" now receiving, and guard you againſt
" their effects. May you be led to ſuch
" a juſt ſenſe of the nature of your ſitua-
" tion, and endowed with ſuch wiſdom,
" as ſhall render your reſtoration to the
" government of theſe kingdoms a bleſ-
" ing to it, and engage you to con-
" ſider yourſelf as more properly the
" *Servant* than the *Sovereign* of your
" people."

But I muſt not forget the oppoſite extreme to that now taken notice of; that is, a diſdainful pride, derived from a conſciouſneſs of equality, or, perhaps, ſuperiority, in reſpect of all that gives true dignity, to men in power, and producing a contempt of them, and a diſpoſition to treat them with rudeneſs and inſult. It is a trite obſervation, that extremes generally beget one another. This is particularly true in the preſent caſe. Perſons juſtly informed on the ſubject of government,

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when they ſee men dazzled by looking up to high ſtations, and obſerve loyalty carried to a length that implies ignorance and ſervility: ſuch perſons, in ſuch circumſtances, are in danger of ſpurning at all public authority, and throwing off that reſpectful demeanor to perſons inveſted with it which the order of ſociety requires. There is undoubtedly a particular deference and homage due to civil magiſtrates, on account of their ſtations and offices; nor can that man be either truly wiſe or truly virtuous, who deſpiſes governments, and wantonly *ſpeaks evil of his rulers*; or who does not, by all the means in his power, endeavour to ſtrengthen their hands, and to give weight to their exertions in the diſcharge of their duty.——*Fear God*, ſays St. Peter. *Love the brotherhood. Honour all men. Honour the King.*——*You muſt needs*, ſays St. Paul, *be ſubject to rulers, not only for wrath* (that is, from the fear of ſuffering the penalties annexed to the breach of the laws), *but for conſcience ſake. For rulers are miniſters of God, and re-*

vengers for executing wrath on all that do evil.

Another expreſſion of our love to our country is defending it againſt enemies. Theſe enemies are of two ſorts, internal and external; or domeſtic and foreign. The former are the moſt dangerous, and they have generally been the moſt ſucceſſful. I have juſt obſerved, that there is a ſubmiſſion due to the executive officers of government, which is our duty; but you muſt not forget what I have alſo obſerved, that it muſt not be a blind and ſlaviſh ſubmiſſion. Men in power (unleſs better diſpoſed than is common) are always endeavouring to extend their power. They hate the doctrine, that it is a TRUST derived from the people, and not a *right* veſted in themſelves. For this reaſon, the tendency of every government is to deſpotiſm; and in this the beſt conſtituted governments muſt end, if the people are not vigilant, ready to take alarms, and determined to reſiſt abuſes as ſoon as they begin. This vi-

gilance,

gilance, therefore, it is our duty to maintain. Whenever it is withdrawn, and a people ceaſe to reaſon about their rights and to be awake to encroachments, they are in danger of being enſlaved, and their *ſervants* will ſoon become their *maſters*.

I need not ſay how much it is our duty to defend our country againſt foreign enemies. When a country is attacked in any of its rights by another country, or when any attempts are made by ambitious foreign powers to injure it, a war in its defence becomes neceſſary: and, in ſuch circumſtances, to die for our country is meritorious and noble. Theſe *defenſive* wars are, in my opinion, the only juſt wars. *Offenſive* wars are always unlawful; and to ſeek the aggrandizement of our country by them, that is, by attacking other countries in order to extend dominion, or to gratify avarice, is wicked and deteſtable. Such, however, have been moſt of the wars which have taken place in the world; but the time is I hope, coming, when a conviction will

prevail

prevail, of the folly * as well as the iniquity of wars; and when the nations of the earth, happy under juſt governments, and no longer in danger from the paſſions of Kings, will find out better ways of ſettling their diſputes; and beat (as Iſaiah propheſies) *their ſwords into ploughſhares, and their ſpears into pruning-hooks.*

Among the particulars included in that duty to our country, by diſcharging which we ſhould ſhew our love to it, I will only further mention praying for it, and offering up thanſgivings to God for every event favourable to it. At the pre-

* See a ſtriking repreſentation of the folly of wars, in the laſt ſections of Mr. *Neckar*'s Treatiſe on the *Adminiſtration of the Finances of* FRANCE. There is reaſon to believe that the ſentiments on this ſubject in that treatiſe, are now the prevailing ſentiments in the court and legiſlature of FRANCE; and, conſequently, that one of the happy effects of the revolution in that country may be, if not our own fault, ſuch a harmony between the two firſt kingdoms in the world, ſtrengthened by a common participation in the bleſſings of liberty, as ſhall not only prevent their engaging in any future wars with one another, but diſpoſe them to unite in preventing wars every where, and in making the world free and happy.

ſent

ſent ſeaſon we are called upon to expreſs, in this way, our love to our country. It is the buſineſs of this day, and of the preſent ſervice; and, therefore, it is neceſſary that I ſhould now direct your attention to it particularly.

We are met to thank God for that event in this country to which the name of THE REVOLUTION has been given; and which, for more than a century, it has been uſual for the friends of freedom, and more eſpecially Proteſtant Diſſenters, to celebrate with expreſſions of joy and exultation.——My highly valued and excellent friend *, who addreſſed you on this occaſion laſt year, has given you an intereſting account of the principal circumſtances that attended this event, and of the reaſons we have for rejoicing in it. By a bloodleſs victory, the fetters which deſpotiſm had been long preparing for us were broken; the rights of

* See Dr. Kippis's Sermon, preached on November 4th, 1788, to the Revolution Society, and printed for Mr. Cadell.

the

the people were asserted, a tyrant expelled, and a Sovereign of our own choice appointed in his room. Security was given to our property, and our consciences were emancipated. The bounds of free enquiry were enlarged; the volume in which are the words of eternal life, was laid more open to our examination; and that *æra* of light and liberty was introduced among us, by which we have been made an example to other kingdoms, and became the instructors of the world. Had it not been for this deliverance, the probability is, that, instead of being thus distinguished, we should now have been a base people, groaning under the infamy and misery of Popery and slavery. Let us, therefore, offer thanksgivings to God, the author of all our blessings. *Had he not been on our side, we should have been swallowed up quick, and the proud waters would have gone over our souls. But our souls are escaped, and the snare has been broken. Blessed then be the name of the Lord, who made heaven and earth.* cxxivth Psalm.

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It is well known that King James was not far from gaining his purpoſe; and that probably he would have ſucceeded, had he been leſs in a hurry. But he wanted courage as well as prudence; and, therefore, fled, and left us to ſettle quietly for ourſelves that conſtitution of government which is now our boaſt. We have particular reaſon, as Proteſtant Diſſenters, to rejoice on this occaſion. It was at this time we were reſcued from perſecution and obtained the liberty of worſhipping God in the manner we think moſt acceptable to him. It was then our meeting-houſes were opened, our worſhip was taken under the protection of the law, and the principles of toleration gained a triumph. We have, therefore, on this occaſion, peculiar reaſons for thankſgiving.—But let us remember that we ought not to ſatisfy ourſelves with thankſgivings. Our gratitude, if genuine, will be accompanied with endeavours to give ſtability to the deliverance our country has obtained, and to extend and improve the happineſs with which the Revolution

has bleſt us—Let us, in particular, take care not to forget the principles of the Revolution. This Society, has, very properly, in its reports, held out theſe principles, as an inſtruction to the public. I will only take notice of the three following:

Firſt; The right to liberty of conſcience in religious matters.

Secondly; The right to reſiſt power when abuſed. And,

Thirdly; The right to chuſe our own governors; to caſhier them for miſconduct; and to frame a government for ourſelves.

On theſe three principles, and more eſpecially the laſt, was the Revolution founded. Were it not true that liberty of conſcience is a ſacred right; that power abuſed juſtifies reſiſtance; and that civil authority is a delegation from the people—Were not, I ſay, all this true; the Revolution would have been not an AS-

SERTION,

SERTION, but an INVASION of rights; not a REVOLUTION, but a REBELLION. Cherish in your breasts this conviction, and act under its influence; detesting the odious doctrines of passive obedience, non-resistance, and the divine right of kings —doctrines which, had they been acted upon in this country, would have left us at this time wretched slaves—doctrines which imply, that God made mankind to be oppressed and plundered; and which are no less a blasphemy against him, than an insult on common sense.

I would farther direct you to remember, that though the Revolution was a great work, it was by no means a perfect work; and that all was not then gained which was necessary to put the kingdom in the secure and complete possession of the blessings of liberty.—In particular, you should recollect that the toleration then obtained was imperfect. It included only those who could declare their faith in the doctrinal articles of the church of England. It has, indeed, been since extended, but not sufficiently; for there still

exiſt penal laws on account of religious opinions, which (were they carried into execution) would ſhut up many of our places of worſhip, and ſilence and impriſon ſome of our ableſt and beſt men.—The TEST LAWS are alſo ſtill in force, and deprive of eligibility to civil and military offices, all who cannot conform to the eſtabliſhed worſhip. It is with great pleaſure I find that the body of Proteſtant Diſſenters, though defeated in their attempts to deliver their country from this diſgrace to it, have determined to perſevere. Should they at laſt ſucceed, they will have the ſatisfaction, not only of removing from themſelves a proſcription they do not deſerve, but of contributing to leſſen the number of our public iniquities. For I cannot call by a gentler name, laws which convert an ordinance appointed by our Saviour to commemorate his death, into an inſtrument of oppreſſive policy, and a qualification of rakes and atheiſts for civil poſts.—I have ſaid, *ſhould* they ſucceed—but perhaps I ought not to ſuggeſt a doubt about their ſucceſs.

ſucceſs*. And, indeed, when I conſider that in SCOTLAND the eſtabliſhed church is defended

* It has been unfortunate for the Diſſenters, that in their late applications for a repeal of the Teſt Laws, they have been oppoſed by Mr. PITT. He has contended that, on account of their not believing and worſhipping as the Church of England does, they ought to be excluded from that eligibility to public offices which is the right of other citizens, and conſequently denied a *complete* toleration; acknowledging, however, their integrity and reſpectableneſs, but reckoning it only the more neceſſary on that account to defend the national church againſt them. Such ſentiments in theſe times can do no honour to any man, much leſs to a ſon of the late Lord CHATHAM, whoſe opinion of toleration and Proteſtant Diſſenters may be learnt from the following account.

In 1769 and 1772, the miniſters among the Diſſenters applied to Parliament for relief from the obligation they were then under to ſubſcribe the doctrinal articles of the church of England in order to be entitled to a toleration, and both times ſucceeded in the Houſe of Commons, in conſequence of Lord NORTH's neutrality, but were defeated in the Houſe of Lords, in conſequence of an oppoſition from the Epiſcopal Bench. They perſevered, however; the Biſhops repented; and a third application proved ſucceſsful in both Houſes.—In the debate occaſioned in the Houſe of Lords by the *ſecond* application, Dr. Drummond, the Archbiſhop of York, having called the Diſſenting Miniſters "men of cloſe ambition," Lord CHATHAM ſaid, that this was judging uncharitably; and that whoever brought ſuch a charge againſt them, without proof, defamed. Here he pauſed; and then went on—"The Diſſenting Miniſters are repreſented as men of cloſe "ambition. They are ſo, my Lords; and their ambi-

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defended by no ſuch teſt—that in IRELAND it has been aboliſhed—that in a great neighbouring country it has been declared to be an indefeaſible right of all citizens to be equally eligible to public offices—that in the ſame kingdom a profeſſed Diſſenter from the eſtabliſhed church holds

" tion is to keep *cloſe* to the college of fiſhermen, not of " cardinals, and to the doctrine of inſpired apoſtles, not " to the decrees of intereſted and aſpiring biſhops. They " contend for a ſpiritual creed, and ſcriptural worſhip. We " have a Calviniſtic creed, a Popiſh liturgy, and an Armi- " nian clergy. The Reformation has laid open the ſcrip- " tures to all. Let not the Biſhops ſhut them again. Laws " in ſupport of eccleſiaſtical power are pleaded for, which " it would ſhock humanity to execute. It is ſaid, that re- " ligious ſects have done great miſchief, when they were not " kept under reſtraint; but hiſtory affords no proof that " ſects have ever been miſchievous, when they were not op- " preſſed and perſecuted by the ruling church." See the Parliamentary Debates, for 1772.

In one of his letters to me, not long after this debate, dated Burton-Pynſent, January 16, 1773, he expreſſes himſelf in the following words; " In writing to you, it is im- " poſſible the mind ſhould not go of itſelf to that moſt inte- " reſting of all objects to fallible man—TOLERATION. Be " aſſured, that on this ſacred and unalienable right of na- " ture, and bulwark of truth, my warm wiſhes will always " keep pace with your own. Happy, if the times had al- " lowed us to add hopes to our wiſhes."

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the first office in the state—that in the Emperor's dominions *Jews* have been lately admitted to the enjoyment of equal privileges with other citizens—and that in this very country, a Dissenter, though excluded from the power of *executing* the laws, yet is allowed to be employed in *making* them—When, I say, I consider such facts as these, I am disposed to think it impossible that the enemies of the repeal of the Test Laws should not soon become ashamed, and give up their opposition.

But the most important instance of the imperfect state in which the Revolution left our constitution, is the INEQUALITY OF OUR REPRESENTATION. I think, indeed, this defect in our constitution so gross and so palpable, as to make it excellent chiefly in form and theory. You should remember that a representation in the legislature of a kingdom is the *basis* of constitutional liberty in it, and of all legitimate government; and that without it a government is nothing but an usurpation.

tion*. When the repreſentation is fair and equal, and at the ſame time veſted with ſuch powers as our Houſe of Commons poſſeſſes, a kingdom may be ſaid to govern itſelf, and conſequently to poſſeſs true liberty. When the repreſentation is partial, a kingdom poſſeſſes liberty only partially; and if extremely partial, it only gives a *ſemblance* of liberty; but if not only extremely partial, but corruptly choſen, and under corrupt influence after being choſen, it becomes a *nuiſance*, and produces the worſt of all forms of government—a government by corruption—a government carried on and ſupported by ſpreading venality and profligacy through a kingdom. May heaven preſerve this kingdom from a calamity ſo dreadful! It is the point of depravity to which abuſes under ſuch a government as ours naturally tend, and the laſt ſtage of national unhappineſs. We are, at preſent, I hope, at a great diſtance from it. But it cannot be pretended that there

* Except in ſtates ſo ſmall as to admit of a Legiſlative Aſſembly, conſiſting of all the members of the ſtate.

are no advances towards it, or that there is no reaſon for apprehenſion and alarm.

The inadequateneſs of our repreſentation has been long a ſubject of complaint. This is, in truth, our fundamental grievance; and I do not think that any thing is much more our duty, as men who love their country, and are grateful for the Revolution, than to unite our zeal in endeavouring to get it redreſſed. At the time of the American war, aſſociations were formed for this purpoſe in LONDON, and other parts of the kingdom; and our preſent Miniſter himſelf has, ſince that war, directed to it an effort which made him a favourite with many of us. But all attention to it ſeems now loſt, and the probability is, that this inattention will continue, and that nothing will be done towards gaining for us this eſſential bleſſing, till ſome great calamity again alarms our fears, or till ſome great abuſe of power again provokes our reſentment; or, perhaps, till the acquiſition of a pure and equal repreſentation by other countries (while

we are mocked with the ſhadow *) kindles our ſhame.

Such is the conduct by which we ought to expreſs our gratitude for the Revolution.—We ſhould always bear in mind the principles that juſtify it. We ſhould contribute all we can towards ſupplying what it left deficient; and ſhew ourſelves anxious about tranſmitting the bleſſings obtained by it to our poſterity, unimpaired and improved.—But, brethren, while we thus ſhew our patriotic zeal, let us take care not to diſgrace the cauſe of patriotiſm, by any licentious or immoral conduct.——Oh! how earneſtly do I wiſh that all who profeſs zeal in this cauſe, were as diſtinguiſhed by the purity of their morals, as ſome of them are by their abilities; and that I could make them ſenſible of the advantages they would derive from a virtuous character, and of the ſuſpicions they incur and the loſs of conſequence they ſuffer by wanting it.—— Oh! that I could ſee in men who oppoſe

* A repreſentation choſen principally by the Treaſury, and a few thouſands of the dregs of the people, who are generally paid for their votes.

tyranny

tyranny in the ſtate, a diſdain of the tyranny of low paſſions in themſelves; or, at leaſt, ſuch a ſenſe of ſhame and regard to public order and decency as would induce them to *hide* their irregularities, and to avoid inſulting the virtuous part of the community by an open exhibition of vice!—I cannot reconcile myſelf to the idea of an immoral patriot, or to that ſeparation of private from public virtue, which ſome think to be poſſible. Is it to be expected that———But I muſt forbear. I am afraid of applications, which many are too ready to make, and for which I ſhould be ſorry to give any juſt occaſion.

I have been explaining to you the nature and expreſſions of a juſt regard to our Country. Give me leave to exhort you to examine your conduct by what I have been ſaying. You love your country, and deſire its happineſs; and, without doubt, you have the greateſt reaſon for loving it. It has been long a

very diſtinguiſhed and favoured country. Often has God appeared for it and delivered it. Let us ſtudy to ſhew ourſelves worthy of the favour ſhewn us.—Do you practiſe virtue yourſelves, and ſtudy to promote it in others? Do you obey the laws of your country, and aim at doing your part towards maintaining and perpetuating its privileges? Do you always give your vote on the ſide of public liberty; and are you ready to pour out your blood in its defence? Do you look up to God for the continuance of his favour to your country, and pray for its profperity; preſerving, at the ſame time, a ſtrict regard to the rights of other countries, and always conſidering yourſelves more as citizens of the world than as members of any particular community?——If this is your temper and conduct you are bleſſings to your country, and were all like you, this world would ſoon be a heaven.

I am addreſſing myſelf to Chriſtians. Let me, therefore, mention to you the example of our bleſſed Saviour. I have obſerved,

obſerved, at the beginning of this diſcourſe, that he did not inculcate upon his hearers the love of their country, or take any notice of it as a part of their duty. Inſtead of doing this, I obſerved that he taught the obligation to love all mankind, and recommended univerſal benevolence, as (next to the love of God) our firſt duty; and, I think, I alſo proved to you that this, in the circumſtances of the world at that time, was an inſtance of incomparable wiſdom and goodneſs in his inſtructions. But we muſt not infer from hence, that he did not include the love of our country in the number of our duties. He has ſhewn the contrary by his example. It appears that he poſſeſſed a particular affection for his country, though a very wicked country. We read in Luke x. 42, that when, upon approaching *Jeruſalem*, in one of his laſt journeys to it, he beheld it, he wept over it, and ſaid; *Oh! that thou hadſt known (even thou, at leaſt in this thy day) the things that belong to thy peace.*—What a tender ſolicitude about his country does

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the lamentation over *Jeruſalem* imply, which is recorded in the ſame goſpel, chap. xiii. and 34, *Oh! Jeruſalem, Jeruſalem, thou that killeſt the prophets, and ſtoneſt them who are ſent to thee, how often would I have gathered thy children together, as a hen gathereth her brood under her wings, but ye would not.*

It may not be improper farther to mention the love St. Paul expreſſed for his country, when he declared, that, for the ſake of his brethren and kinſmen, he could even wiſh himſelf *accurſed from Chriſt*. (Rom. ix. 3.) The original words are an ANATHEMA *from Chriſt*; and his meaning is, that he could have been contented to ſuffer *himſelf* the calamities which were coming on the Jewiſh people, were it poſſible for him, by ſuch a ſacrifice of himſelf, to ſave them.

It is too evident that the ſtate of this country is ſuch as renders it an object of concern and anxiety. It wants (I have ſhewn you) the grand ſecurity of public liberty. Increaſing luxury has multiplied abuſes in it. A monſtrous

weight

weight of debt is crippling it. Vice and venality are bringing down upon it God's diſpleaſure. That ſpirit to which it owes its diſtinctions is declining *; and ſome late events ſeem to prove that it is becoming every day more reconcileable to encroachments on the ſecurities of its liberties †.—It wants, therefore, your patriotic ſervices; and, for the ſake of the diſtinctions it has ſo long enjoyed; for the ſake of our brethren and companions, and all that ſhould be dear to a free people, we ought to do our utmoſt to ſave it from the dangers that threaten it; remembering that by acting

* One of theſe diſtinctions is, that being in poſſeſſion of the forms of an excellent conſtitution of government, any changes or improvements neceſſary to correct abuſes and to give perfect liberty, may be grafted upon them, without tumult or danger; whereas other countries, wanting theſe forms, and being under the neceſſity of erecting a new conſtitution on the ruins of an old one, cannot acquire liberty without ſetting every thing afloat, and making their eſcape from ſlavery through the dangers of anarchy.

† Among theſe encroachments I muſt reckon the extenſion of the Exciſe laws, the introduction of the cuſtom of farming taxes, and the additional burdens lately thrown on the freedom of the preſs, and the circulation of intelligence.

thus,

thus, we ſhall promote, in the beſt manner, our own private intereſt, as well as the intereſt of our country; for when the community proſpers, the individuals that compoſe it muſt proſper with it.—But, ſhould that not happen, or ſhould we even ſuffer in our ſecular intereſt by our endeavours to promote the intereſt of our country, we ſhall feel a ſatisfaction in our own breaſts which is preferable to all this world can give; and we ſhall enjoy the tranſporting hope of ſoon becoming members of a perfect community in the heavens, and having *an entrance miniſtered to us abundantly into the everlaſting kingdom of our Lord and Saviour Jeſus Chriſt.*

You may reaſonably expect that I ſhould now cloſe this addreſs to you. But I cannot yet diſmiſs you. I muſt not conclude without recalling particularly to your recollection, a conſideration to which I have more than once alluded, and which, probably, your thoughts have

have been all along anticipating; A conſideration with which my mind is impreſſed more than I can expreſs; I mean the conſideration of the favourableneſs of the preſent times to all exertions in the cauſe of public liberty.

What an eventful period is this! I am thankful that I have lived to it; and I could almoſt ſay, *Lord now letteſt thou thy ſervant depart in peace, for mine eyes have ſeen thy ſalvation.* I have lived to ſee a diffuſion of knowledge, which has undermined ſuperſtition and error—I have lived to ſee the rights of men better underſtood than ever; and nations panting for liberty, which ſeemed to have loſt the idea of it.——I have lived to ſee THIRTY MILLIONS of people, indignant and reſolute, ſpurning at ſlavery, and demanding liberty with an irreſiſtible voice; their king led in triumph, and an arbitrary monarch ſurrendering himſelf to his ſubjects.——After ſharing in the benefits of one Revolution, I have been ſpared to be a witneſs to two other Revolutions, both glorious.——And now

 methinks,

methinks, I ſee the ardour for liberty catching and ſpreading; a general amendment beginning in human affairs; the dominion of kings changed for the dominion of laws, and the dominion of prieſts giving way to the dominion of reaſon and conſcience.

Be encouraged all ye friends of freedom, and writers in its defence! The times are auſpicious. Your labours have not been in vain. Behold kingdoms, admoniſhed by you, ſtarting from ſleep, breaking their fetters, and claiming juſtice from their oppreſſors! Behold, the light you have ſtruck out, after ſetting AMERICA free, reflected to FRANCE, and there kindled into a blaze that lays deſpotiſm in aſhes, and warms and illuminates EUROPE!

Tremble all ye oppreſſors of the world! Take warning all ye ſupporters of ſlaviſh governments, and ſlaviſh hierarchies! Call no more (abſurdly and wickedly) REFORMATION, innovation. You cannot now hold the world in darkneſs. Struggle no longer againſt increaſing light and liberality.

berality. Restore to mankind their rights; and consent to the correction of abuses, before they and you are destroyed together.

FINIS.

APPENDIX.

Thirty Millions of People in France.

(PAGE 40.)

MY reasons for stating the People of France at this number, will appear from the following facts and observations.

From accurate enumerations made at the end of every three years in SWEDEN, during 21 years, from 1755 to 1775, it appeared that the average number of inhabitants of all ages, was in that period 2,370,160.

The average of annual births, was 90,724.

The average of annual deaths, including three years of extraordinary mortality, was 66,759. A 34th part and three-fifths, therefore, of the inhabitants died annually. See my Treatile on Annuities, Vol. I. p. 268, and Vol. II. Table 42d, and the firft additional Eflay at the end of the fecond volume.

In the kingdom of NAPLES, confifting in 1777 of 4,311,503 inhabitants, the average of annual deaths for five years was 115,412. A 37th ½ part, therefore,

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From accurate enumerations made at the end of every three years in SWEDEN, during 21 years, from 1755 to 1775, it appeared that the average number of inhabitants of all ages, was in that period 2,319,160.

The average of annual births, was 90,245.

The average of annual deaths, including three years of extraordinary mortality, was 66,759. A 34th part and three-fifths, therefore, of the inhabitants died annually. See my Treatiſe on Annuities, Vol. I. p. 268, and Vol. II. Table 42d, and the firſt additional Eſſay at the end of the ſecond volume.

In the kingdom of NAPLES, conſiſting in 1777 of 4,311,503 inhabitants, the average of annual deaths for five years was 115,412. A 37th ½ part, therefore,

fore of the inhabitants died annually. Ib. Vol. I. p. 268.

In the province of *Vaud*, SWITZERLAND, containing 112,951 inhabitants, a 45th part dies annually. Ib.

In the kingdom of FRANCE, the medium of annual deaths, births, and marriages, was

Of BIRTHS for 4 years, to 1774	914,710	For 6 years, to 1780,	958,419
Of DEATHS	793,931		834,865
Of MARRIAGES	192,180		228,170

I see no reason for suspecting, that the proportion of inhabitants dying annually to the whole number of inhabitants, is greater in France than in Sweden, or even in the kingdom of NAPLES. Let it, however, be reckoned the same with that in Sweden; that is, as 1 to 34½, and the number of inhabitants in France, in 1780, must have been 34½ multiplied by 834,865, or nearly TWENTY-NINE MILLIONS.

It should be observed, that in the ten years from 1771 to 1780, there was in FRANCE such an increase of the annual births, deaths, and marriages (produced by the excess of the births above the deaths), as evidently proved that the number of inhabitants had increased in those ten years near a million and a half.

It should be farther considered, that the returns of births, deaths, and marriages in FRANCE, being returns of numbers actually counted and registered, they must be (as such accounts always are) in some degree deficient. Mr. Neckar, in his Treatise on the Administration of the Finances of France (Vol. I. p. 251) has

has mentioned other deficiencies in these returns; and, particularly, that (except the Jews of *Lorraine*, *Alsace*, and the county of *Metz*) the registers of population do not contain the names of any non-catholicks (in number near two millions), except they have been baptized in the established church.

It seems, therefore, that my statement of the present inhabitants of France at thirty millions, is very moderate: an addition of two millions on account of an increase since 1780, and the deficiencies just mentioned, would make them 31 millions. Mr. Neckar (ibid. p. 219), without making any allowance for this increase, and for deficiencies, states them in 1784 at only 24,802,580, in consequence of multiplying the *births* by 25. But I reckon that in whole kingdoms the proportion of births to the number of inhabitants is much more variable than the proportion of deaths; possibly, he was not acquainted with the facts here stated, and many others of the same kind which may be found in the Treatise on Annuities to which I have referred, and which prove that the *lowest* multiplier of the annual medium of deaths which should be used to find the number of inhabitants in a whole kingdom, is 32 or 33. In *Sweden* and the kingdom of *Naples* it appears to be greater; but, if we suppose 33 the right multiplier, the inhabitants of France must have been in 1780, 27½ millions; and the increase since, with the deficiencies in the returns, will make it highly probable that, even on this supposition, they must be now near 30 millions.

If the births in Sweden are taken for guides in this case, it will be reasonable, in order to find the right multiplier, to increase it for FRANCE in the same proportion

proportion that the *ratio* of the excess of the births above the deaths there is less than the same ratio in SWEDEN. And this will make the proper multiplier of the *births* in *France* 30 nearly, and will give the number of inhabitants in 1780 near 29 millions, as before. I wish there were equal *data* for determining the number of people in BRITAIN.

POSTSCRIPT.

In the JOURNAL of the Debates and Decrees of the National Assembly of FRANCE for Oct. 4th, 1790, I find an Extract from a Report delivered to the Assembly by M. DU PONT, in the name of the Committee of Finances, which states, that an enumeration (in which only deficiencies could be suspected) made in 1786, of the inhabitants of the Generality of PARIS, *exclusive of the City itself*, had discovered the number of inhabitants to be 1,188,000, though a multiplication of the births by 26 had made them only 998,886. In this case, therefore, the right multiplier of the births was $31\frac{1}{2}$; and if this was also the right multiplier of the births for the whole Kingdom in 1780, the inhabitants of *France* were then THIRTY MILLIONS, even on the supposition that the returns were not deficient in the manner that has been specified.

The DECLARATION OF RIGHTS, *which has been agreed to by the National Aſſembly of* FRANCE, *and ſanctioned by the King, and which forms the* Baſis *of the new Conſtitution of* FRANCE, *contains ſuch an authority for ſome of the ſentiments in the foregoing Diſcourſe, and holds out to the world an inſtruction on the ſubject of Civil Government of ſuch conſequence, that I cannot help inſerting here the following* Tranſlation *of it.*

DECLARATION OF THE RIGHTS OF MEN AND OF CITIZENS,

BY THE NATIONAL ASSEMBLY OF FRANCE.

THE Repreſentatives of the people of FRANCE formed into a National Aſſembly, conſidering that ignorance, neglect, or contempt of human rights, are the ſole cauſes of public misfortunes and corruptions of government, have reſolved to ſet forth, in a ſolemn declaration, theſe natural, impreſcriptible, and unalienable rights: that this declaration being conſtantly preſent to the minds of the members of the body ſocial, they may be ever kept attentive to their rights and their duties: that the acts of the legiſla-

tive and executive powers of government being capable of being every moment compared with the end of political inſtitutions, may be more reſpected: and alſo, that the future claims of the citizens, being directed by ſimple and inconteſtible principles, may always tend to the maintenance of the Conſtitution, and the general happineſs.

For theſe reaſons, the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY doth recognize and declare, in the preſence of the Supreme Being and with the hope of his bleſſing and favour, the following *ſacred* rights of men and of citizens.

I. Men were born and always continue free, and equal in reſpect of their rights. Civil diſtinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.

II. The end of all political aſſociations is the preſervation of the natural and impreſcriptible rights of man; and theſe rights are liberty, property, ſecurity, and reſiſtance of oppreſſion.

III. The nation is eſſentially the ſource of all ſovereignty; nor can any individual, or any body of men be entitled to any authority which is not expreſſly derived from it.

IV. Political liberty conſiſts in the power of doing whatever does not injure another. The exerciſe of the natural rights of every man, has no other limits than thoſe which are neceſſary to ſecure to every *other* man the free exerciſe of the ſame rights; and theſe limits are determinable only by the law.

V. The law ought to prohibit only actions hurtful to ſociety. What is not prohibited by the law ſhould not be hindered; nor ſhould any one be compelled to that which the law does not require.

VI. The

VI. The law is an expreſſion of the will of the community. All citizens have a right to concur, either perſonally or by their repreſentatives, in its formation. It ſhould be the ſame to all, whether it protects or puniſhes; and all being equal in its ſight, are equally eligible to all honours, places, and employments, according to their different abilities, without any other diſtinction than that created by their virtues and talents.

VII. No man ſhould be accuſed, arreſted, or held in confinement, except in caſes determined by the law, and according to the forms which it has preſcribed. All who promote, ſolicit, execute, or cauſe to be executed arbitrary orders, ought to be puniſhed; and every citizen called upon or apprehended by virtue of the law, ought immediately to obey, and renders himſelf culpable by reſiſtance.

VIII. The law ought to impoſe no other penalties than ſuch as are abſolutely and evidently neceſſary: and no one ought to be puniſhed but in virtue of a law promulgated before the offence, and legally applied.

IX. Every man being preſumed innocent till he has been convicted, whenever his detention becomes indiſpenſible, all rigour to him, more than is neceſſary to ſecure his perſon, ought to be provided againſt by the law.

X. No man ought to be moleſted on account of his opinions, not even on account of his *religious* opinions, provided his avowal of them does not diſturb the public order eſtabliſhed by the law.

XI. The unreſtrained communication of thoughts and opinions being one of the moſt precious rights of

man, every citizen may ſpeak, write, and publiſh freely, provided he is reſponſible for the abuſe of this liberty in caſes determined by the law.

XII. A public force being neceſſary to give ſecurity to the rights of men and of citizens, that force is inſtituted for the benefit of the community, and not for the particular benefit of the perſons with whom it is entruſted.

XIII. A common contribution being neceſſary for the ſupport of the public force, and for defraying the other expences of government, it ought to be divided equally among the members of the community, according to their abilities.

XIV. Every citizen has a right, either by himſelf or his repreſentative, to a free voice in determining the neceſſity of public contributions, the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of aſſeſſment, and duration.

XV. Every community has a right to demand of all its agents an account of their conduct.

XVI. Every community in which a ſeparation of powers and a ſecurity of rights is not provided for, wants a conſtitution.

XVII. The right to property being inviolable and ſacred, no one ought to be deprived of it, except in caſes of evident public neceſſity legally aſcertained, and on condition of a previous juſt indemnity.

I HOPE I shall be excused for taking the liberty to offer the following remarks on the *tenth* of these articles:

INTOLERANCE IN RELIGION, and RESTRAINTS on the DISCUSSION of speculative points, have been some of the chief causes of the slow progress of human improvement, and of the miseries of the world. I could therefore have wished to see, in such an instruction to the world as this declaration contains, an article strongly marking and reprobating these evils. This tenth articles does not, I think, sufficiently answer this purpose. For it is obvious, that in TURKEY, writing against Mahomet; in SPAIN, against the Inquisition; and in every country, against its established doctrines, is a disturbance of public order established by law; and, therefore, according to this article, punishable.

The *eleventh* article is worthy of the very respectable proposer of it, but in some degree liable to the same objection. Laws may be unjust, and determine the fairest discussions of speculative points and the best publications, to be abuses of liberty. At ROME, a few years ago, the publication of one of the greatest productions of human genius was deemed an abuse of liberty, and prohibited, because it asserted the motion of the earth. Even in ENGLAND, at this day, its laws determine every thing written or spoken against the doctrine of the Trinity, to be an offence punishable by fines and imprisonment.

The declaration that would best meet my wishes in this instance would be:

"That every man has a right to profess and prac-
"tise, without molestation or the loss of any civil
"privilege, that mode of religious faith and worship

"which

"which he thinks moſt acceptable to his Maker; and "alſo to diſcuſs freely by ſpeaking, writing, and "publiſhing all ſpeculative points, provided he does "not by any *overt* act or *direct* invaſion of the rights "of others, break the peace, or attempt to injure "any one in his perſon, property, or good name."

In a Tract on the AMERICAN REVOLUTION, I have given an account of the reaſons, which in my opinion require ſuch an extent of religious and intellectual liberty as theſe words imply; and which prove that civil power, without concerning itſelf about opinions, or the *tendencies* of opinions, ought to confine itſelf to the preſervation of peace and the protection of univerſal liberty, as far as it is not employed to injure itſelf.

The tenth article, on which I have here remarked, was probably a compromiſe between oppoſite ſentiments in the National Aſſembly of FRANCE, and may, I hope, in ſome future time, be re-conſidered. *M. Raboud de St. Etienne*, a proteſtant clergyman, and a member of the Aſſembly, delivered a ſpeech againſt it full of eloquence and the juſteſt ſentiments.

SOCIETY

SOCIETY for commemorating the Glorious Revolution of 1668.

At the Anniverſary Meeting of this Society, held at the London Tavern, Nov. 4, 1789,

The Rt. Hon. Earl STANHOPE in the Chair,

A Report from the Committee was brought up, from which the following is an extract:

"Your Committee are perſuaded, that by the union of the friends of freedom, their rights are aſcertained and eſtabliſhed; and truſting that it will be highly honourable to avow ourſelves, in the moſt explicit manner, advocates for the pure and genuine principles of civil and religious liberty, they have with this view prepared a book, in which thoſe gentlemen who are inclined to let their names be tranſmitted to poſterity, as the friends of the great and glorious Revolution of 1688, may inſert them after the following preamble, and a declaration of aſſent to the three following propoſitions.

PREAMBLE.

This Society, ſenſible of the important advantages ariſing to this country by its deliverance from popery and arbitrary power, and conſcious that, under God, we owe that ſignal bleſſing to the Revolution, which ſeated our deliverer King William the Third on the throne; do hereby declare our firm attachment to the

civil

civil and religious principles which were recognized and eſtabliſhed by that glorious event, and which has preſerved the ſucceſſion in the proteſtant line; and our determined reſolution to maintain, and, to the utmoſt of our power, to perpetuate, thoſe bleſſings to the lateſt poſterity.

THREE PROPOSITIONS, *containing the fundamental Principles of the Society:*

That all civil and political authority is derived from the people.

2. That the abuſe of power juſtifies reſiſtance.

3. That the right of private judgment, liberty of conſcience, trial by jury, the freedom of the preſs, and the freedom of election, ought ever to be held ſacred and inviolable.

The Committee farther reſolved,

That in order to cauſe the principles of the Revolution to be well underſtood, extenſively propagated, and firmly maintained; and to preſerve the glorious fabric of the Britiſh Conſtitution; and to tranſmit the invaluable bleſſings of public freedom to poſterity, unimpaired and improved, it becomes the people to eſtabliſh ſocieties throughout the kingdom upon Revolution principles, to maintain a correſpondence with each other, and to form that grand concentrated union of the true friends of public liberty, which may be neceſſary to maintain its exiſtence.

The Committee concluded their Report with congratulating the members of the Society, as Britons, and citizens of the world, upon that noble ſpirit of civil and religious liberty which had, ſince the laſt meeting,

ing, ſo conſpicuouſly ſhone forth on the continent, more eſpecially on the glorious ſucceſs of the French Revolution; and with expreſſing their ardent wiſhes that the influence of ſo glorious an example may be felt by all mankind, until tyranny and deſpotiſm ſhall be ſwept from the face of the globe, and univerſal liberty and happineſs prevail.

Dr. Price then moved, and it was unanimouſly reſolved, that the following congratulatory Addreſs to the National Aſſembly of France, be tranſmitted to them, ſigned by the Chairman:

'The Society for commemorating the Revolution 'in Great Britain, diſdaining national partialities, and 'rejoicing in every triumph of liberty and juſtice 'over arbitrary power, offer to the National Aſſem-'bly of France their congratulations on the Revolu-'tion in that country, and on the proſpect it gives to 'the two firſt kingdoms in the world, of a common 'participation in the bleſſings of civil and religious 'liberty.

'They cannot help adding their ardent wiſhes of 'a happy ſettlement of ſo important a Revolution, 'and at the ſame time expreſſing the particular ſatiſ-'faction, with which they reflect on the tendency of 'the glorious example given in France to encourage 'other nations to aſſert the unalienable rights of man-'kind, and thereby to introduce a general reforma-'tion in the governments of Europe, and to make 'the world free and happy.

'STANHOPE, Chairman.'

In purſuance of the reſolution of the Society, this Congratulatory Addreſs was conveyed to the Duke of Rochefoucauld at PARIS, with a letter requeſting

him to present it to the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, and at the same time intimating, that the Society considered the NATIONAL ASSEMBLY as acting for the world as well as for the great kingdom it represented, and therefore hoped that their Address was not an improper intrusion; or, if it was, that it would be excused as an effusion of zeal in the cause of general liberty and human happiness which no considerations of impropriety had been able to suppress.

The following communications and letters will shew how highly the Society has been gratified by the favourable reception of its Address.

Extract from a Letter of the DUKE DE ROCHEFOUCAULD *to Dr.* PRICE.—*Dated Paris, December 2d,* 1789.

"C'etoit bien——au Dr. Price qui l'appartenoit de proposer une motion tendante à faire à cette Liberte le plus belle hommage, celui des prejugés nationaux. L'addresse de felicitation que le Comte de STANHOPE a fait l'honneur au Duc de la Rochefoucauld de lui envoier a été reçue de l'Assemblée Nationale avec de vifs applaudissemens. Elle y a vu l'aurore du beau jour ou deux nations qui se sont toujours estimées malgré leurs divisions politiques, et malgré la diversité de leurs gouvernemens, contracteront une liaison intime par la similitude de leurs opinions, et par leur enthousiasme commun pour la Liberté. Elle a charge son President d'ecrire au Cte de Stanhope, mais les occupations multipliées de la Presidence n'aint pas encore permis l'expe-

dition

tion de la lettre, le Duc de la Rochefoucauld s'empreſſe toujours d'avoir l'honneur de répondre au Docteur Price.——Heureux d'avoir été choiſi pour cette honorable commiſſion, il en a rendu compte à l'Aſſemblée Nationale, et en lui préſentant l'adreſſe il lui a fait connoître les droits qu'avoit à ſon eſtime, & à l'eſtime de la nation Françoiſe une Société dont l'objet eſt auſſi noble et auſſi patriotique, &c. &c.

TRANSLATION.

"It belonged to——Dr. Price to propoſe a motion tending to pay to liberty the faireſt homage, that of national prejudices.—The addreſs of congratulation which Earl Stanhope has done the Duke de la Rochefoucauld the honour to tranſmit to him, has been received by the National Aſſembly with lively applauſe. They have ſeen in that addreſs the dawn of a glorious day, in which two nations who have always eſteemed one another notwithſtanding their political diviſions and the diverſity of their governments, ſhall contract an intimate union, founded on the ſimilarity of their opinions and their common enthuſiaſm for liberty.—They have directed their Preſident to write to Earl STANHOPE; but the multiplicity of the buſineſs of the Preſidency not having yet permitted the expediting of that letter, the Duke de la ROCHEFOUCAULD has not delayed to do himſelf the honour of writing to Dr. Price. Happy in having been choſen for ſuch an honourable commiſſion, he has rendered an account of it to the National Aſſembly; and, in preſenting to them the addreſs of a Society whole object is ſo noble and patriotic, he has acquainted

acquainted them with the claim which it has to their eſteem, and to the eſteem of the whole French nation, &c. &c.

Extract from the Votes of the National Aſſembly of FRANCE, *of Wedneſday the 25th of Nov. 1789, tranſmitted by the* ARCHBISHOP OF AIX, *Preſident of the National Aſſembly, to Earl* STANHOPE, *Chairman of the Revolution Society in London.*

Extrait du Procès verbal de l'Aſſemblée Nationale du Mercredi 25me Novem. 1789.

Un membre a lu une adreſſe de felicitation de la part de la *Société Angloiſe*, appellée Société de *la Revolution*. L'aſſemblée vivement touchee de ce temoignage extraordinaire d'eſtime a exprimé ſa ſatisfaction par de grands applaudiſſemens, et a décrété que M. le Preſident ſera chargé d'ecrire à Milord Stanhope Preſident de la Société, une lettre dans la quelle il lui temoignera la vive et profonde ſenſibilité qu'a eprouvé l'Aſſemblée Nationale de France à la lecture de la declaration faite au nom de la Société de la Revolution d'Angleterre, la quelle reſpire les ſentimens d'humanité et de bienveillance univerſelle qui doivent lier dans tous les pays du monde, les vrais amis de la Liberté et du bonheur des nations.

(Signé) L'ARCH. D'AIX,
Preſident de l'Aſſemblée Nationale.

(L. S.) LE Vte DE MIRÆBEAU,
Secretaire.

(Contre Signé) SALOMON DE LA SAUGERIE,
Secret.

TRANS-

TRANSLATION.

Extract from the Votes of the National Assembly of Wednesday the 25th Nov. 1789.

A member having read a Congratulatory Address of the *English Society* called the *Revolution Society*; the Assembly, deeply affected with this extraordinary proof of esteem, expressed its satisfaction by loud applause, and resolved that the President be directed to write a letter to Lord Stanhope, Chairman of the Society, expressing the lively and deep sensibility with which the National Assembly of France received the address of the Revolution Society in England, which breathes those sentiments of humanity and universal benevolence, that ought to unite together, in all countries of the world, the true friends of liberty and the happiness of mankind.

(Signed) THE ARCHBISHOP OF AIX,
President of the National Assembly.

Sealed with the Arms of the National Assembly of France.

(Counter-Signed) THE Visc. DE MIRABEAU,
Secretary.

SALOMON DE LA SAUGERIE,
Secretary.

Letter

Letter from the ARCHBISHOP *of* AIX, *President of the National Assembly, to Earl* STANHOPE, *Chairman of the Revolution Society.*

(COPY.)

A Paris, ce 5me Decembre, 1789.

IL eſt digne, Milord, d'une Société célèbre et d'un peuple heureux et libre de s'intéreſſer à tous les progrès du bonheur et de la liberté publique.

Depuis long-tems la nation Françaiſe exeroit l'empire de ſes connoiſſances et de ſes arts, elle dirigeoit ſon gouvernement par ſes opinions, quand elle ne ſe gouvernoit pas encore elle même par ſes loix.

Elle pourſuivoit avec ardeur des vérités utiles, et répandant chaque jour la lumiere ſur toutes les parties de ſon adminiſtration, elle ſembloit entraînée, comme par un mouvement univerſel, aux changemens qui lui donnent ſa conſiſtance et ſa force.

Un Roi que nous pouvons appeller le meilleur des hommes, et le premier des citoyens, encourageoit, par ſes vertus, les eſpérances de ſa nation, et maintenant, un concours unanime établit une conſtitution durable, ſur les droits impreſcriptibles des hommes et des citoyens.

Il appartient ſans doute à notre ſiécle, quand la raiſon s'étend avec la liberté, de faire diſparoître à jamais les haines et les rivalités nationales : il ne faut pas que les guerres, ces erreurs de gouvernemens, ſoient l'effet des préjugés que ſont les vices des nations, et les deux peuples, les plus inſtruits de l'Europe, doivent montrer par leur exemple, que l'amour

de

de la patrie s'accorde avec tous les ſentimens de l'humanité.

L'Aſſemblée Nationale a reconnu, dans l'Adreſſe de la Société de la Revolution d'Angleterre, *ces principes de bienveillance univerſelle qui doivent lier, dans tous les pays du monde, les vrais amis du bonheur, et de la liberté des nations*: Elle a conſigné les témoignages, de ſa vive et profonde ſenſibilité, dans une déliberation ſolemnelle, qu'elle me charge de vous communiquer.

Recevez les aſſurances de tous les ſentimens, avec leſquels j'ai l'honneur d'être,

Mylord,

Votre trés humble,

Et tres obéiſant ſerviteur,

(Signé) L'ARCH. d'AIX,

Preſident de l'Aſſemblée Nationale.

TRANSLATION.

Paris, the 5th December, 1789.

IT is worthy, my Lord, of a celebrated Society, and of an happy and free people, to intereſt themſelves in the progreſs of public liberty and happineſs.

The French nation has long been improving in knowledge and arts; and its government was directed by opinions derived from them even before the country governed itſelf by the laws which they dictated.

The nation purſued with ardour uſeful truths, and daily diffuſing light over every branch of the adminiſtration, it appeared to be carried, as by an univerſal impulſe,

impulſe, to thoſe changes which now give it ſtrength and ſtability.

A King whom we may call the beſt of men, and the firſt of citizens, encouraged by his virtues the hopes of the nation, and now, by univerſal concurrence, a durable conſtitution is eſtabliſhed, founded on the unalienable rights of men and citizens.

It undoubtedly belongs to our age, in which reaſon and liberty are extending themſelves together, to extinguiſh for ever national hatred and rivalſhip.

We muſt not allow the prejudices which diſgrace nations to produce wars, thoſe errors of governments. But the two moſt enlightened people of Europe ought to ſhew, by their example, that the love of their country is perfectly compatible with every ſentiment of humanity.

The National Aſſembly diſcovers in the Addreſs of the Revolution Society of England, thoſe principles of univerſal benevolence which ought to bind together, in all countries of the world, the true friends to the happineſs and liberty of mankind.

The National Aſſembly has given the moſt undeniable teſtimony of its ſtrong and deep ſenſe of this truth, by the ſolemn vote which it has directed me to communicate to you.

Accept the aſſurance of thoſe ſentiments with which I have the honour to be,

My Lord,
Your moſt humble,
And moſt obedient ſervant,
The ARCHBISHOP of AIX,
Preſident of the National Aſſembly.

To Lord Stanhope, Chairman of the Revolution Society.

Reſolution of Thanks from the Patriotic Society at Dijon, tranſmitted by M. l'Abbé VOLFIUS, *the Chairman, to Earl* STANHOPE, *Chairman of the Revolution Society.*

Extrait du Regiſtre des Deliberations du Club Patriotique de Dijon.

Séance du Lundi, 30me Novembre, 1789.

M. M. l'ABBE VOLFIUS, Preſident.

Navier; de Morveau; Mazuyé, *Medecin*; Mazuyé, *Avocat*; Gouget, *Primé*; Dezé; Larché; Vaudrey; Gillotte; Villiers; Chamy; Durande *fils*; Bazire, *cadet*; Renaud; Leroux; Vaillant, *aine*; Purvenié; Muzard; Maret; Gouget-Deſſandres; Jacotot; et Vaillant, *cadet*; preſens.

M. NAVIER a dit:

MESSIEURS,

L'ADRESSE de felicitation, envoiée à *l'Aſſemblée Nationale* de France, par la *Societé de la Revolution* de Londres, a excité votre admiration et celle de tous les vrais amis du bonheur public. Des Anglois que dedaignent les preventions nationales, et qui applaudiſſent aux efforts de leurs rivaux, pour ſecouer le joug du pouvoir arbitraire, preſentent un ſpectacle ſur le quel les philoſophes attentifs aux progrès de l'eſprit humain, ne peuvent pas manquer de fixer leurs regards.

Telle eſt donc la victoire remportée par la raiſon et la philanthrophie ſur les prejuges et les jalouſies po-

pulaires, que nous avons lieu d'eſperer déſormais que tous les peuples oubliant des interêts particls s'encourageront mutuellement à la conquête de la liberté, et qu'ainſi, dans toutes les parties de l'Europe, l'homme ſera bientot reintégré dans des droits que le deſpotiſme a bien pû enchainer pour un temps, mais qu'il n'eſt point en ſon pouvoir d'anéantir.

Pourquoi craindrions-nous le l'avouer, Meſſieurs ? La revolution qui s'opere aujourd'hui dans notre patrie, eſt due ſurtout à l'exemple que l'Angleterre nous a donné depuis un ſiecle. C'eſt du jour où nous avons appris à connaitre la conſtitution politique de cette Iſle, et les proſpérités que l'accompagnent, que notre haine pour le deſpotiſme a pris une veritable énergie. En aſſurant leur bonheur, les Angloiſes ont preparé celui de l'Univers. Tandis que de toutes parts, les tyrans s'efforçaient d'eteindre le feu ſacré de la liberte, nos voiſins veillaient avec un ſoin courageux, à l'entretenir toujours dans leur ſein. Nous en avons recueilli des étincelles bienfaiſantes; et ce feu embraſant toutes les ames, va, dans l'Europe entiere, reduire pour jamais en cendres les liens dont le deſpotiſme accablait les nations.

Rendons à nos voiſins le juſte tribut de reconnaiſſance que les amis d'humanité ne doivent point refuſer aux plus zelés deffenſeurs de ſes droits. Que la *Société de la Révolution* apprenne que les Français ont été ſenſiblement touchés des felicitations qu'elle a adreſſés à l'Aſſemblée Nationale ; Que ces vertueux philantrophes ne doutent plus du ſucces de leurs vœux, en voiant les habitans des provinces, le diſputer à ceux de la capitale, dans l'amour ardent de la liberté.

La matiere miſe en délibération ; le *Club Patriotique*

tique considerant qu'il entre parfaitement dans l'objet de son institution de manifester en toute occasion, le zéle de ses membres, pour l'accomplissement d'une révolution de la quelle dépend le bonheur de la nation; que l'Adresse de la *Société de la Révolution* à l'Assemblée Nationale, est un acte memorable qui mérite la reconnaissance de tous les Français; que le plus sûr moien d'assurer la félicité des peuples est de multiplier entre-eux les témoignages des sentimens d'union fraternelle qui doivent animer reciproquement des hommes égaux en droits, et vivans sous une constitution libre:

Le *Club* a délibéré unanimement que la *Société de la Révolution* serait priéré d'agréer l'expression de la sensibilité vive et reconnaissante dont il a été touché à la lecture de l'acte dans le quel la *Société* a si dignement manifesté l'interêt qu'elle prend aux efforts de la nation Française, pour obtenir une constitution qui lui fasse partager avec le peuple Anglais les grands biens attachés à la liberté: *Le Club* ne desirant rien avec tant d'ardeur, que de voir regner entre les deux nations la concorde fraternelle sans la quelle elles perdraient les fruits de cette liberté précieuse dont elles se sont montrées dignes.

Arrêté en outre que copie de la presente délibération sera envoiée par M. le Président à la Société de la Révolution de Londres.

(Signé au Régistre.) VOLFIUS.

(Copie.) VAILLANT, Cadet.
Secretaire du Club Patriotique de Dijon.

TRANSLATION.

Extract from the Regiſter of the Deliberations of the Patriotic Society of Dijon.

At the Meeting held on Monday, Nov. 30, 1789,

Mr. L'ABBE VOLFIUS, Preſident,

NAVIER, &c. preſent.

Mr. NAVIER made the following Speech:

GENTLEMEN,

"THE Congratulatory Addreſs, ſent to the National Aſſembly of France, by the Revolution Society of London, has excited your admiration, and that of every true friend of the public welfare.

"Engliſhmen diſdaining national prejudices, and applauding the efforts of their rivals to ſhake off the yoke of arbitrary power, preſent a ſpectacle which philoſophers, attentive to the progreſs of the human mind, cannot fail to contemplate with pleaſure.

"Such then is the victory obtained by reaſon and philanthropy over popular prejudices and jealouſies, that we have now cauſe to hope that all nations, forgetting partial intereſts, will mutually encourage each other in the attainment of liberty; and that thus, throughout Europe, mankind will be ſhortly reſtored to thoſe rights of which deſpotiſm has deprived them for a time, but which it never could annihilate.

"Why ſhould we be aſhamed, Gentlemen, to acknowledge that the Revolution which is now eſtabliſhing itſelf in our country, is owing to the example given by England a century ago?

"It

"It was from that day we became acquainted with the political conſtitution of that iſland, and the proſperity with which it was accompanied; it was from that day our hatred of deſpotiſm derived its energy. In ſecuring their own happineſs, Engliſhmen have prepared the way for that of the univerſe. Whilſt on all ſides tyrants were attemping to extinguiſh the ſacred flame of liberty, our neighbours with intrepid watchfulneſs and care cheriſhed it in their boſoms. We have caught ſome of theſe ſalutary ſparks; and this fire enflaming every mind, is extending itſelf over all Europe, for ever to reduce to aſhes thoſe ſhackles with which deſpotiſm has oppreſſed mankind.

"Let us render to our neighbours that juſt tribute of gratitude which the friends of mankind ought never to refuſe to the moſt zealous defenders of its rights.

"Let the Revolution Society know that Frenchmen have been ſenſibly affected by the congratulations which it has addreſſed to the National Aſſembly, that theſe virtuous philanthropiſts, ſeeing the inhabitants of the provinces vying with thoſe of the metropolis in the ardent love of liberty, may be in no doubt about the attainment of their wiſhes."

The ſubject having been debated, the Patriotic Society conſidering—that it is perfectly conſiſtent with the object of its inſtitution to manifeſt on every occaſion, the zeal of its members for accompliſhing a revolution on which depends the welfare of the nation;—that the addreſs from the Revolution Society to the National Aſſembly is a memorable act, which deſerves the gratitude of every Frenchman;

man; and that the ſureſt means to ſecure the happineſs of different nations is to multiply between them thoſe proofs of a fraternal union of ſentiment which ought reciprocally to animate men equal in rights and happy in the enjoyment of the advantages of a free conſtitution:

It was therefore unanimouſly agreed, that the Revolution Society ſhould be entreated to accept the effuſions of lively ſenſibility and gratitude with which this Society was animated at the reading of the Addreſs in which that Society has ſo worthily manifeſted the intereſt it takes in the efforts of the French nation, to eſtabliſh a conſtitution which will enable it to be a partaker with the Engliſh people in the very great bleſſings attached to freedom: and that it deſires nothing more ardently than to ſee fraternal concord eſtabliſhed between the two nations, without which they would both loſe the fruits of that precious freedom of which they have proved themſelves ſo worthy.

Reſolved alſo, that a Copy of the preſent Reſolution ſhall be ſent by the Preſident to the Revolution Society of London.

(The Regiſter Signed) VOLFIUS.

(Extract Signed) VALLIANT Jun.
Secretary of the Patriotic Society of Dijon.

Letter

Letter from the Members of the Patriotic Union of the Town and Caſtleward of LISLE, *to the Chairman and Members of the Revolution Society in London.*

COPY.

MESSIEURS,

SI rien n'eſt plus capable de flatter l'Aſſemblée Nationale de la France, que vos applaudiſſemens à ſon ouvrage, rien, en même tems, n'eſt plus propre que votre jugement, à nous en garantir le ſuccès. Il faut l'avouer, Meſſieurs, en Politique comme en Philoſophie, vous etes les maitres et les modéles de toute la terre. C'eſt chez vous, oui, c'eſt dans votre ile fortunée, que la liberté, combattuë, repouſſée de toutes parts par le deſpotiſme, a trouvé un azile ſacré, et ſi la France va, enfin, jouir de ce bien précieux, elle en ſera peutêtre plus redevable à votre nation qu'à elle même; car, ſi nous n'avoins été encouragés par votre exemple, et èclairés par votre experience, nous ſerions peut-être encore bien éloignés de rompre les chaines ſous les quelles nous etions courbés, et nous gémerions encore ſous ce joug odieux qui tiranniſe et reſerre les facultés de l'homme, qui commande à la penſée, qui dégrade ſon eſſence, je veux dire, l'empire des préjugés et de la ſuperſtition.

La nobleſſe de votre procédé â l'egard des Français, en les forçant au reſpect et à la reconnaiſſance,

prouve

prouve à la fois à l'Europe entiere, que la jalouſie, les injuſtes rivalités, et toutes les petites paſſions baſſes ne trouvent point d'accés dans l'ame élevée des Philoſophes amis de la libérté.

Agréez les remercimens particuliers d'une aſſociation d'hommes, admirateurs de votre généroſité, et ſoyez perſuadés des ſentimens de reſpect, avec les quels, nous avons l' honneur d'être,

MESSIEURS,

Vos trés humbles, et trés

Obéiſſans Seviteurs,

LES MEMBRES DE L'UNION PATRIOTE DES VILLE ET CHATELLENIE DE LILLE.

Lille, le 26me. Nov. 1789.

G. Jacquerye
Secretaire.

M. M. Les Préſident, et Membres du Club, *de la Revolution. Londres.*

TRANSLATION.

GENTLEMEN,

AS nothing is more flattering to the National Aſſembly of France than your approbation of its proceeedings, ſo nothing at the ſame time is more proper than your judgment to ſecure the ſucceſs of them. It muſt be owned, Gentlemen, that in politics as in philoſophy, you are the inſtructors

inſtructors and examples of the whole world. It is among you, yes, it is in your favoured iſle, that liberty every where attacked and trampled upon by deſpotiſm has found a ſacred aſylum, and if France ſhould obtain that invaluable bleſſing, ſhe will perhaps be more indebted for it to your nation than to herſelf; for if we had not been encouraged by your example, and enlightened by your experience, we might yet perhaps have been unable to break thoſe chains under which we were bowed down, and we ſhould ſtill have groaned under that odious yoke (the empire of prejudices and ſuperſtition) which tyrannizes over and cramps the faculties of man, enſlaves his mind, and degrades his nature.

Your noble conduct towards the French nation demands both our reſpect and gratitude, and at the ſame time demonſtrates to all Europe, that jealouſy, unjuſt rivalſhip, and baſe paſſions, are incapable of finding acceſs to the exalted minds of philoſophers, friends of liberty.

Accept the particular thanks of an aſſociation of men, admirers of your generoſity; and be perſuaded of the ſentiments of reſpect with which we have the honour to be,

GENTLEMEN,

Your very humble and very obedient ſervants,

THE MEMBERS OF THE PATRIOTIC UNION OF THE TOWN AND CASTLE WARD OF LILLE.

C. Jacquerye,
Secretary.

Lille, 26 *Nov.* 1789.

It will be aſtoniſhing if any perſon, who has within him a ſpark of zeal for liberty and human happineſs, ſhould be able to read theſe papers without delight. They prove the truth of the obſervation in the note, p. 30. We ſee in them (to uſe the language of the excellent Duke de ROCHEFOUCAULD) the dawn of a glorious day—of a day when (ſhould ſentiments congenial to thoſe in *France* prevail in Britain) two nations at the head of the world, convinced of the folly of wars, and laying aſide all jealouſies, ſhall embrace one another, and form a fraternal and intimate union, not for the vile purpoſes of avarice and conqueſt, but to ſpread the knowledge of human rights, to extend the bleſſings of juſtice and liberty, and to promote *peace on earth and good will among men.*

The following anſwers to theſe communications have beenordered by the Revolution Society:

Note in anſwer to the Archbiſhop of AIX's *Letter.*

THE members of the Revolution Society in London requeſt the Archbiſhop of Aix's acceptance of their beſt thanks for the letter which he has directed to Earl Stanhope their Chairman, and for conveying to them the Vote of the National Aſſembly of *France.* They could ſcarcely have received a higher ſatisfaction than has been given them by the Archbiſhop's letter, and the condeſcending notice with which the National Aſſembly has been pleaſed to honour their Congratulatory Addreſs. They feel particularly the juſtice which this auguſt aſſembly has done them, by imputing

imputing their addreſs to the influence of thoſe principles of univerſal benevolence which ought in all countries to bind together the friends of human liberty and happineſs. Their hearts are warmed with theſe principles; and they deſire nothing ſo earneſtly as that the time may ſoon come when *they ſhall ſo poſſeſs every human heart as to* put an end to all jealouſies between nations, exterminate oppreſſion and ſlavery, and cauſe wars, thoſe dreadful errors of governments, to ceaſe in all the earth. They exult in the proſpect of ſuch a time, which ſeems to be opening, and with which the proceedings of the National Aſſembly of France promiſe to bleſs mankind.

The Revolution Society cannot avoid taking this occaſion to add, that among the important benefits of the Revolution in France, they reckon its tendency to afford a ſalutary inſtruction to Kings. They learn with pleaſure that the people of *France* are happy in a King who has encouraged them by his virtues in recovering their rights, and been on this account juſtly crowned with the title of the RESTORER OF FRENCH LIBERTY. This elevates him to the higheſt pinnacle of glory. The deſpots of the world muſt NOW ſee their folly. This example muſt ſhew them that they can never be ſo great or happy, or truly powerful, as by renouncing deſpotic power, and being placed (like the Kings of *France* and *England*) at the head of an enlightened people and free conſtitution of government?

Signed by Earl STANHOPE, in the name of the Society.

Letter in anſwer to the Letter from the Patriotic Society of Dijon.

To Mr. l'Abbé VOLFIUS, *Preſident of the Patriotic Society at* DIJON.

SIR,

THE Revolution Society in London have received with the higheſt pleaſure the Reſolution of Thanks which you have tranſmitted to them from the Patriotic Club at Dijon. They are delighted with the Speech of Mr. NAVIER; and they concur heartily in the wiſhes expreſſed by him, and the other members of the Patriotic Club, of a FRATERNAL UNION between this country and theirs. Among the benefits of the revolution in FRANCE they reckon its tendency to produce ſuch an union, founded on a common participation in the bleſſings of liberty, and an extenſion of thoſe principles of juſtice and reverence for human rights which are now guiding the proceedings of the National Aſſembly of FRANCE, and making them a glorious example to the world.

Such without doubt will be the iſſue of this Revolution, ſhould that ardor of univerſal benevolence which the members of the Revolution Society in London feel in their own hearts, poſſeſs the hearts of all their countrymen.

May Heaven bleſs the world with an union ſo deſirable, and ſuffer no partial intereſts or popular violences to prevent the citizens of FRANCE from enjoying all the bleſſings that can be derived from a wiſe, and equitable, and free conſtitution of government!

Under

Under a grateful ſenſe of the attention with which the Society of which you are Preſident has honoured the Revolution Society, and with the greateſt reſpect, I am, Sir, &c.

Signed by Earl STANHOPE, Chairman, in the name of the Society.

Letter in anſwer to the Letter from the Members of the Patriotic Union of the Town of LISLE.

To the Members of the Patriotic Union of the Town of Liſle.

GENTLEMEN,

ACCEPT our gratitude for the very obliging letter with which you have honoured us. Our Congratulatory Addreſs to the National Aſſembly of France was derived from the warmeſt zeal in the general cauſe of liberty and human happineſs; and we have been highly gratified by the favourable manner in which it has been received. Conſidering ourſelves more as citizens of the world than as members of any particular community, we cannot but rejoice in every event by which this ſacred cauſe gains a triumph over arbitrary power and oppreſſion. The late Revolution in your country is an event of this kind wonderful and unparalleled. It was not poſſible we ſhould hear of it without the livelieſt feelings of delight and exultation; nor could we, without doing violence to ourſelves, avoid expreſſing theſe feelings, and aſpiring to the honour of being known to the people of France, and acquainting them with our admiration of them as an enlightened people, who, with a ſpirit and unanimity

nimity never before known in ſo vaſt a kingdom, and that ſeemed like an inſpiration from heaven, had ſhaken off the odious yoke of deſpotiſm, aſſerted and recovered the rights of men, and made themſelves joint partakers with us in the invaluable bleſſings of civil and religious liberty.

We cannot help adding on this occaſion, that we admire the liberality of the members of the Patriotic Union of LISLE, in aſcribing the deliverance of FRANCE to the example of England; and that it is with pleaſure we reflect that an acknowledgment ſo candid and generous is not altogether without foundation. BRITAIN has undoubtedly, ever ſince the æra of its own Revolution been a moſt diſtinguiſhed and favoured kingdom, and held out to the world an example of national dignity and happineſs derived from the poſſeſſion of liberty, which has inſtructed other kingdoms. But our regard to truth requires us, at the ſame time that we thus boaſt, to acknowledge that now the time ſeems to be arrived when we ſhall loſe this honourable diſtinction. France is taking the lead; and Britain will be left behind, if not provoked by the example of France to correct abuſes that are every day growing more palpable; and, in particular, to ſubſtitute for its preſent partial and imperfect repreſentation ſuch an equal and pure repreſentation as our brethren in France are likely to enjoy.

With ſentiments of the warmeſt eſteem, we are,

GENTLEMEN,

Your moſt obedient and humble Servants,

THE MEMBERS OF THE
REVOLUTION SOCIETY IN LONDON.

ON the 14th of July a very reſpectable company, conſiſting of ſeveral hundreds of Gentlemen, met at the Crown and Anchor Tavern in the Strand, to celebrate the firſt Anniverſary of the glorious Revolution in France, Earl STANHOPE in the Chair. At this meeting Dr. Price gave, as a toaſt,

An ALLIANCE between FRANCE and GREAT-BRITAIN, for perpetuating peace, and making the world happy.

This toaſt was introduced by the following Addreſs to the company.

GENTLEMEN,

IN conſequence of five wars in which we have been involved ſince the Revolution in 1688, the kingdom is now ſinking under a load of debts, which render it incapable of meeting another war without the utmoſt danger. For certainly there is a limit, beyond which if we go in adding to our debts, ruin muſt follow; and one more war may bring us to that limit.

A long period of peace, therefore, to give us time for the redemption of our debts, is neceſſary to our ſecurity; and, perhaps, even to our exiſtence.—In France there is a diſpoſition to unite itſelf to us, by an alliance for maintaining and perpetuating peace. Such an alliance would be an union between the two firſt kingdoms in the world, for the nobleſt purpoſe. It would be an effect worthy of that union of philoſophy to politics, which diſtinguiſhes the preſent æra of the world. It might ſave Britain. It would bleſs the world, and complete the hopes of all the friends of human liberty and happineſs. I can ſay, from very reſpectable authority, that there has been a deſign formed

ed, in the National Aſſembly of France, to make a propoſal of ſuch an alliance to this country:——"O "heavenly philanthropiſts! well do you deſerve the ad- "miration not only of your own country, but of all "countries. You have already determined to renounce, "for ever, all views of conqueſt, and all *offenſive* wars. "This is an inſtance of wiſdom and attention to human "rights which has no example. But you will do more. "You will invite Great-Britain to join you in this "determination, and to enter into a compact with you "for promoting *peace on earth and good-will among* "*men.*"

GENTLEMEN,

SUCH are the fruits of the glorious Revolution which we are this day celebrating. It promiſes a new and better order in human affairs. The paſſions of Kings and their Miniſters have too often and too long involved nations in the calamities of war. But now (thanks to the National Aſſembly of France) the axe is laid to the root of this cauſe of human miſery, and the intrigues of Courts are likely to loſe their power of embroiling the world.

In this kingdom we have been uſed to ſpeak of the people of France as our *natural enemies*; and however abſurd, as well as ungenerous and wicked, ſuch language was, it admitted of ſome excuſe while they conſiſted only of a monarch and his ſlaves. But now, with a ſpirit that aſtoniſhes mankind, and that makes tyrants tremble, they have broke their yoke, they have aſſerted their rights, and made themſelves as free as ourſelves. In doing this, we have been an example to THEM. THEY are now become an example to US; and we have reaſon to expect, that they will ſoon crown

crown their glorious work by calling upon us to *meet* them (not as formerly in fields of blood at the command of a deſpot), but on the ſacred ground of liberty, to embrace us as brethren, to exchange vows with us of eternal amity, and to ſettle the terms of a confederation for extending the bleſſings of peace and liberty through the world—Thus united, the two kingdoms will be omnipotent. They will ſoon draw into their confederation HOLLAND, and other countries on this ſide the Globe, and the United States of AMERICA on the other; and, when alarms of war come, they will be able to ſay to contending nations, PEACE, and there will be PEACE.

I have therefore thought that it would be worthy of this reſpectable company on this moſt animating occaſion, to expreſs its wiſhes of ſucceſs to the propoſal I have mentioned, by drinking,

An Alliance between FRANCE and GREAT-BRITAIN for perpetuating Peace, and making the world happy. Amen and Amen!!!

This addreſs, together with a reſolution propoſed by *Mr. Sheridan*, expreſſive of the joy of the company in the extenſion of liberty to *France*, and of its wiſhes of eternal amity between the two kingdoms, were conveyed to the National Aſſembly of FRANCE, and there received with applauſe——The ſentiments in this addreſs have alſo been echoed, with the warmeſt zeal, in letters from many different ſocieties and diſtricts in *France*. One of theſe letters has been ſelected for publication in this *Appendix*, becauſe directed more particularly to the propoſer of the toaſt juſt mentioned, and anſwered by him.

Copy of a Letter from the Diſtrict of QUIMPER, *in the Department of* FINISTERRE, *conveyed by the Duke de la* ROCHEFOUCAULD, *and ſigned by M.* Francois Noel Bremaudiere, *Preſident of the Diſtrict, and the other principal Magiſtrates and Citizens.*

Bretagne, Aug. 4, 1790.

MONSIEUR,

Nous, avons eté attendris juſqù aux larmes en liſant le Diſcours que que l'amour de l'humanité vous a dicté dans l'Aſſemblée des amis de la Revolution de la Grande Bretagne. C'éſt avec une emotion que nos expreſſions ne peuvent rendre, que nous voyons des citoyens *Anglais* developper des principes de liberté que le Cœur des *Francais* cherit avec tant d'Enthouſiaſme. Vous l'avez obſerve, homme genereux, quand le deſpotiſme aviliſſait les Francais, alors nos deux Nations ne pouvaient etre unies; mais aujourd'hui l'amour de la liberte nous eleve à votre niveau, et les deux premiers empires de l'univers ne poivent plus former en le jour qu'une même famille qui par l'union de ſes enfans doit eveiller le courage de touts les peuples eſclaves en donnant à leurs deſpotes inſenſes la leçon la plus accablante.

Nous ne le croirons jamais, non jamais des Anglais voudront proſtituer leurs bras à combattre la liberte naiſſante; et ſi des miniſtres temeraires oſaient les armer contre nous, à la premiere rencontre de nos Armées les amis de la liberte ſe reconnaitraient et loin de ſe combattre ils cimenteraient par des embraſſements fraternels l'union qui doit raſſembler à jamais deux peuples deſtinés à montrer à l'univers etonné l'exemple de toutes les vertus ſociales.

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El eſt cher a nos cœurs d'avoir á vous rendre compte de l'admiration que cauſe à nos cités votre patriotiſme perſonnel. Des opinions auſſi belles, quand vous les profeſſez, ne peuvent manquer de rallier ſur le globe touts les vrais amis de l'humanite.

DES CITOYENS DU DISTRICT DE QUIMPER DEPARTMENT DE FINNISTERRE.

FRANCOIS NOEL BREMAUDIERE PRESIDENT DU DISTRICT.

CHARLES LE SAWN DU DIRECTOIRE DU DISTRICT.

AMBROSE DU HAFFORD ADMINISTRATEUR DU DISTRICT, &c. &c.

TRANSLATION

Of the foregoing Letter.

SIR,

We have been affected even to tears in reading the diſcourſe which the love of mankind dictated to you at the meeting of the friends of the *Britiſh* Revolution. It is with an emotion which we cannot expreſs that we ſee Engliſh Citizens developing thoſe principles of liberty which the hearts of *Frenchmen* cheriſh with ſo much enthuſiaſm. You have obſerved, that when *Frenchmen* were debaſed by deſpotiſm, the two kingdoms could not unite; but now, ſince the love of liberty has raiſed us to your level, the two firſt kingdoms in the world ought to form only one family, encouraging by the union of its children all enſlaved countries, and giving to unfeeling deſpots a leſſon that may overwhelm them.

It has not been poſſible for us to believe that the people of England would proſtitute their arms by oppoſing them to the riſing liberty of FRANCE; but ſhould any raſh and daring miniſters attempt this, we are perſuaded that, at the firſt onſet, the friends of liberty in the two countries would recognize one another, and, far from fighting, would cement by fraternal embraces that union which ought ever to ſubſiſt between two nations deſtined to exhibit to the aſtoniſhed world an example of all the ſocial virtues. We are happy in giving you this teſtimony of our admiration. Principles ſo excellent when profeſſed by you, cannot fail to draw together, throughout the world, all the true friends of mankind.

THE CITIZENS OF THE DISTRICT OF QUIMPER.

ANSWER.

LONDON, *Oct.* 14, 1790.

GENTLEMEN,

THE letter which has been conveyed to me by your excellent fellow-citizen and co-patriot M. de *Rochefoucauld*, brought me a teſtimony of your approbation, on which I ſet a high value. Such notice confers a greater honour than any that titles can give or kings beſtow. Accept my thanks for thus encouraging the attempts of a feeble individual to ſerve the beſt of all cauſes. The Diſcourſe delivered on the 14th of July, at the feaſt in *London* for celebrating the Anniverſary of the glorious Revolution in *France*, and which you have

have thus honoured, was indeed an emanation from a heart warm with zeal to promote peace and philanthropy among nations, and with an admiration of that diſdain of ſlavery which now pervades your country, and which has produced there a Revolution unparalleled in hiſtory, to which philoſophers and virtuous men are now looking as a noble burſt of the human mind from the fetters of ſlavery and ſuperſtition, and the commencement of a general reformation in the governments of EUROPE. May Heaven proſper the great work, and grant that no adverſe event may interrupt its progreſs, or prevent its happy completion!—Hitherto the world has groaned under deſpots; and the beſt intereſts of ſociety have fallen a ſacrifice to their paſſions and follies. We are now ſeeing the dawn of better times, and the example of France is likely to increaſe it into a glorious effulgence. From the inſtruction there given, the world will learn, that, as ſubjects of government and law, all men are equal; that in every State the Majeſty of the People is the only Sacred Majeſty; that all civil authority is a *truſt* from them; that its end is not to take away, but to eſtabliſh liberty, by protecting equally all honeſt citizens; and that the governing power in every nation ought to be, not the will of any man or claſſes of men pretending to hereditary rights, but the collected wiſdom of the nation drawn from the general maſs *, and concentered in a NATIONAL ASSEMBLY, by ſuch modes of election, and ſuch an extenſion of its

* The Government of BRITAIN would be *nearly* ſuch a Government as is here meant, and its conſtitution *all* that the writer of this letter can wiſh to ſee it, were the three States that compoſe it perfectly independent of one another, and the Houſe of COMMONS in particular (with all its preſent conſtitutional powers), an equal and fair repreſentation of the kingdom, guarded againſt corruption by being frequently renewed, and the excluſion of placemen and penſioners.

rights

rights, as form a part of the new conſtitution of France.

I am, GENTLEMEN,

With the greateſt reſpect,

Your moſt obedient and humble Servant,

RICHARD PRICE.

On the 4th of November, in this year 1790, the Anniverſary of the *Britiſh* Revolution was celebrated, as uſual, at the LONDON Tavern.

At this Feaſt Dr. Price gave, as a toaſt,

The Parliament of *Britain*—May it become a NATIONAL Aſſembly.

By this toaſt no more was meant than to expreſs wiſhes of ſuch a reform in the repreſentation of the kingdom, as that the Parliament, conſiſting of Lords and Commons, might be juſtly deemed a *National* Aſſembly; that is, an aſſembly truly repreſenting the nation, and ſpeaking its voice.—But another ſenſe having been given it, totally foreign to the intention of the propoſer and of the company that applauded it, it becomes proper to publiſh the following introduction to it and explanation of it, which the propoſer had prepared, but was not able to deliver.

"It is a truth almoſt ſelf-evident, that it is the col-
"lected wiſdom and virtue of a nation that ought to
"govern it: and that, conſequently, in order to con-
"ſtitute the beſt form of government, it is neceſſary to
"eſtabliſh ſuch modes of election, and ſuch an ex-
"tenſion of the rights of election, as ſhall beſt tend to
"collect into the legiſlative aſſembly of a nation the
"greateſt

" greateſt quantity poſſible of the national wiſdom and " virtue.——There can ſcarcely be better arrange- " ments for this purpoſe than thoſe which have been " lately adopted in FRANCE, and which form a part of " its new conſtitution.

" That kingdom has been divided into nine re- " gions; and theſe regions have been ſubdivided into " 83 departments. It has been further divided into " 249 equal ſections, called territories; and to each " of theſe territories a right is given to one repreſenta- " tive in the National Aſſembly. Its population is " likewiſe to be divided into 249 equal parts, to each " of which is in like manner annexed a right to one " repreſentative; and the ſame is true of the contribu- " tions to the revenue; ſo that the number of repre- " ſentatives conſtituting the legiſlative body will be here- " after three times 249, that is 747, or nine for each " of the departments taking them one with another, " ſome departments ſending more than nine, and ſome " fewer, according to the greater or ſmaller number of " the equal parts juſt mentioned, of population and " contributions which they contain. In conſequence " of theſe arrangements, France muſt continue always " equally and fairly repreſented: and a body of conſti- " tuents, equal in number and in their contributions, " will always appoint an equal number of repreſenta- " tives.

" But what deſerves moſt to be attended to, is the " manner in which theſe repreſentatives are to be " elected.

" The maſs of the people (not paupers, or mi- " nors, or in ſervitude), are entitled to votes. Their " votes are to be delivered in the cantons where

" they

"they reſide; but the perſons thus elected are not to "be the repreſentatives, but the *electors* of the repre- "ſentatives: that is, the body of the people are to "ſelect ſuch perſons in every department as they ſhall "think fitteſt for the office of chuſing for them ſuch "perſons as ſhall be beſt qualified to repreſent them in "the National Aſſembly. This mode of appointing "the members of a Legiſlative Aſſembly in a great "kingdom was firſt ſuggeſted by Mr. HUME, in one "of his political eſſays, entitled, 'An Idea of a per- "fect Commonwealth.' And perhaps a method better "fitted to exclude corruption from elections, and to "collect into a legiſlature as much as poſſible of the "ability and wiſdom of a kingdom, can ſcarcely be "conceived.

"Compared with ſuch a repreſentation, What is "ours?—The compariſon is too humiliating.

"The correction of the abuſes in our repreſentation "ought to be the firſt object of the zeal of every Bri- "ton. While theſe abuſes continue, our conſtitution "cannot be conſidered as a free conſtitution, except "in theory and form. It wants that counterpoiſe or "independence of the three ſtates on one another, in "which its eſſence as a free conſtitution conſiſts; and "the boaſts we make of it are ridiculous.

"Equality of repreſentation is the baſis of public "liberty. It is the *one thing needful* in our government. "Let us then drink the Parliament of Britain—may it "become a NATIONAL Aſſembly."

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